

CUMANA AND ANTIOQUIA: A COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN COLONIAL
HISPANIC AMERICA

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THIS WORK IS
DEDICATED

TO

MY PARENTS, AND MY CHILDREN
EDDA LEONOR AND RODRIGO

ABSTRACT

Based on an analysis of archival evidence collected from Spanish, Colombian, and Venezuelan repositories the study attempts a comparative interpretation of the origins and development of two city regions within colonial Spanish America: Santa Fe de Antioquia (Colombia), and Cumana (Venezuela). Under that general rubric various themes are developed: the development of the economic bases of each of the urban regions, in the case of Antioquia placer gold mining, and for Cumana pearling and agriculture; the relationship between economic change and the reduction in numbers of aboriginal Indians; the various functional levels at which each city's organizational structures operated; the changing patterns of population distribution within each of the provinces. The analysis is related at each appropriate point to wider themes in the historical geography and economic history of Spanish America.

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Abbreviations

Spain

- AGI Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.
AMME Archivo de Mapas, Ministerio de Ejercito, Madrid.
AHIM Archivo Histórico del Instituto Militar, Madrid.

Venezuela

- AGNC Archivo General de la Nación, Caracas.
AANH Archivo de la Academia Nacional de la Historia,
 Caracas.
BFB Biblioteca de la Fundación John Boulton, Caracas.
APSI Archivo Parroquial de Santa Inés, Cumaná.
APAC Archivo Parroquial de Altagracia, Cumaná.
FHCV Fuentes para la Historia Colonial de Venezuela,
 Academia Nacional de la Historia, Caracas.

Colombia

- ANBC Archivo Histórico Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.
BHNB Biblioteca de Historia Nacional de Bogotá.
BHA Boletín de Historia y Antigüidades, Bogotá.
AHAM Archivo Histórico de Antioquia, Medellín.

England

- BM British Museum (now British Library), London.

PREFACE

This thesis is presented as an original contribution to the historical geography of colonial Spanish America, a field that only recently has attracted the attention of the geographical profession. It is based almost entirely on primary archival materials gained from repositories on both sides of the Atlantic. It addresses the issue of exactly what were the circumstances of urban development in contrasting regions within Spanish America during the three centuries after contact around 1500 A.D.

I wish to express my gratitude to all those persons who, in one form or another, made this present work possible. First it is my pleasure to be able to thank the Universidad de Los Andes, Mérida, Venezuela, for the financial assistance which they so graciously provided to allow me to travel to England to study at University College London, and for support in all of the archival and field work. To Dr. Manuel Perez Vila my sincere thanks, not only for providing a corner for tranquil study amidst the bustle of Caracas in the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Fundación Boulton, but also for the benefits of his wise advice and guidance concerning the many sources of documentation in Venezuela. To the directors and secretaries of the many

institutions in both the Old and New World who so kindly received me, and assisted me in every way, my thanks for facilitating access to the rich materials on colonial Spanish America. I would especially like to mention the help afforded me by the Director of the Colombian National Archive in Bogotá, Fray Alberto Lee López, who on several occasions greatly assisted my acquisition of photocopies and microfilms from his remarkable archive, as well as providing me with valuable contacts in my researches on matters concerning Antioquia. In Venezuela the Director of the National Archive, and the attentive priests who care for the records of the church of Santa Ines de Cumaná, also deserve mention; without their help half the story could not have been told. For their support and friendship expressed in so many ways my sincere thanks go to Arturo and Isabel Eichler.

In Syracuse, where the thesis was prepared for submission, I have to thank Michael Swann for his skill in converting crude figures into elegant maps. It fell to Linda Greenow to convert a long draft manuscript into the present typed version: only she knows how indebted I am to her.

In conclusion, I have to thank the faculty at University College London for having welcomed a Latin Americanist into their midst in 1971-72; their assistance and encouragement has been much appreciated. I would like to thank Dr.

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PART ONE

SANTA FE DE ANTIOQUIA AND ITS REGION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study is a comparative analysis of two city regions in colonial Spanish America. In spite of the many publications that are available relating to colonial urbanism in Spanish America one important characteristic is the dearth of empirical studies which simply demonstrate the facts of life of typical cities and their hinterlands. Though several scholars have commented upon the colonial conditions of the largest colonial urban places, such as Lima and Mexico City, very few have paid attention to the much more common, and in a sense more important, lower ranking urban settlements that lay scattered throughout the empire, representing at once economic frontier settlements, strategic outposts of political control, foci of evangelization among the heathen Indian groups, and symbolic centers of colonial control. The manner in which these towns or cities evolved, their internal and external relationships, the relationships between the urban center and the rural farming, between colonial entrepreneurs out to make a quick profit and the poor Indians harrassed and dispossessed at every turn--these are issues for which little empirical evidence has been available.

This study takes as examples of urban development two cities (to give them their colonial legal titles), one of which, Santa Fe de Antioquia, now lies in the department of that name in present-day Colombia (Figure 1); the second, Santa Inés de Cumaná, is located in eastern Venezuela. Both cities were chosen for a variety of reasons. First, neither city has received more than the passing notice of Latin Americanists. In Antioquia the developments of the nineteenth century, emanating from the antioqueño colonization centered upon Medellín, have for long distracted the attention of most from the old provincial capital. In Venezuela, colonial Cumaná was located in a somewhat marginal position; it possessed none of the exotic qualities of the off-shore islands such as Cubagua, nor the remoteness and mystique of Guayana. It lay adjacent to the core of colonial Tierra Firme, the central Venezuelan mountain valley system, but separated from it by human as well as physical barriers. Both cities were administrative dependencies of their respective capitals, which placed them in an interesting middle rank of the settlement hierarchy. Each experienced a complex history of economic growth, decline and revival, based on an ever-changing mix of mining, agriculture and commerce. Their respective regions also witnessed the differential but rapid reduction of the aboriginal population base resulting from the onset of what to the European eyes appeared long-overdue salvation from

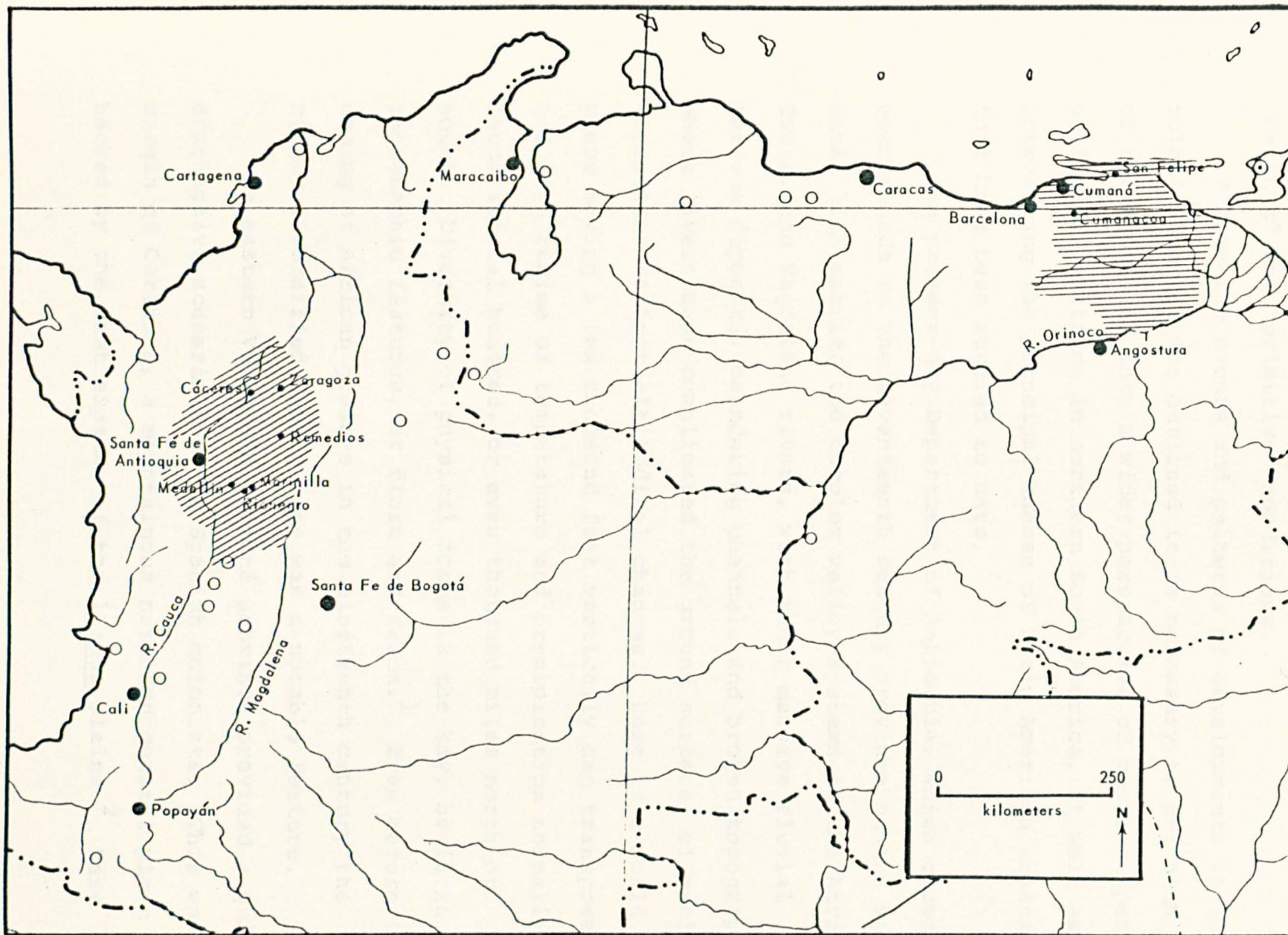


Figure 1. Santa Fe de Antioquia and Santa Ines de Cumana

"heathen" and "primitive" conditions.

Before the events and patterns of developments in the colonial period are outlined it is necessary to put both of the provinces into a wider perspective of their respective ecological settings in northern South America, as well as introducing the principal themes of Latin American urbanism that have been studied to date.

The present-day Department of Antioquia, which closely corresponds to the seventeenth century province of the same name, lies astride the complex valley systems of the Atrato, Cauca, and Magdalena rivers, with their massive fluvial terrace deposits, meandering channels and broken topography. Where rivers have complicated the ground surface, climatic variations reflect altitudinal changes. Here is a world where moving a few thousand feet vertically can transpose one to a regime of temperature and precipitation normally found several hundred, or even thousand miles north or south. Diversity of physical forms is the key, be it in topographic features, or flora and fauna.¹ Even before the coming of African grasses in the nineteenth century the richly diversified biotic base was a notable feature.

In eastern Venezuela, Cumaná province provided a quite distinctive scenario for the Spanish colonists. This was a margin of Caribbea, a mountainous northern coastal plain backed by the vast expanse of the llanos plains.² Here

precipitation was the factor which distinguished one ecological niche from another, the desert Araya Peninsula standing in stark contrast to the forested lowlands of the Cariaco and Caripe. Fertile soils for agriculture were associated with timbered lowlands. Yet with their livestock the Spaniards were able to dramatically reappraise the resource potential of the plains. What an iron plow could accomplish in the plantation zone of the north the scavenging steer and goat could equal in the hard grasses and scrub forest on the dry margins of the good earth. While to the north lay the almost too accessible Caribbean Sea carrying friend and foe, in the deep south lay the Río Orinoco, gateway to Guayana, home of "El Dorado". East and south were the maze-like channels of the Orinoco's delta--a land that one could get easily lost in without the assistance of native guides.

Into both of these regions came the Spaniards at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. It was in these lands of "Tierra Firme" that early contacts were made, novel experiments attempted, and bitter experiences were suffered. For the intrusive culture it meant the possibility of utilizing the richest resource available to them--humans in the shape of Indians--to develop the mineral and agricultural potential. It saw the slow but steady extension of Spanish control throughout both areas, at different paces, due to the problems confronting those in

Cumaná with the hostile Caribs, and later with the decline of gold placer riches in Antioquia, but the overriding characteristic was the persistence of the Spanish effort. They had come to establish an Empire and problems with Indians would not be allowed to stand in their way; the Indians could be "converted" to the benefit of Iberian commercialism, enslaved or killed. Where Indians died in large numbers, or retreated into impenetrable forests of the Chocó or the Orinoco delta they were soon replaced with black slaves, pieces of personal property (piezas), bought and sold in the slave marts.

The Indian view of the same process of culture conquest³ can only be assumed since their thoughts on the matter have perished with most else of their culture. That their ways of living were drastically changed can hardly be denied. They were searched out first as friends to guide the newcomers to their (or other cultures') graveyards where sacred relics could be "exchanged" for European trinkets. When they resisted suggestions that they might work for their new masters they were resettled, moved away from their homelands, in new pueblos de indios, or, where civil jurisdiction could not be established, into mission villages. Of course it cannot be denied that some of the Indians actually helped the Spanish, either to defeat old enemies with the assistance of new friends, or else to avoid what seemed inevitable--annihilation.

An integral role, some would insist perhaps the most important, in this process of conquest and colonial control was played by urban settlement. The city (or town) soon became identified as the focus of control, as the central place from which Spanish authority was exercised. The city, defined usually upon the legalistic basis of sixteenth century Spain, rather than any real functional or formal criteria, became the residence of the conquerors; in it lived those in power, or those who served them. Its physical form--regular, ordered, structured--symbolized its colonial status. Many studies have been published which focus on the origins of the generic form of the Spanish colonial city, and the gradual modification of this form through three centuries of urban change.⁴ Architectural formation and its relationship to urban control mechanisms generally, as well as the functional links between urban centers and their hinterlands has also been a popular topic for research.⁵ The importance of processes of social stratification and their relationship to urban structure, at least in a theoretical sense, has recently been outlined by a group of investigators.⁶ The spatial structure of social patterning within the city has also been the focus of recent attention.⁷

It is important to note that in very few cases have studies on urban development been derived from the evidence and experience of South American examples. The vast majority are based upon either Middle American case studies, or

else the massive legislative documentation on cities extant in Spain. As far as the two present urban regions are concerned that is certainly the case. Antioquia's role as an innovative center of nineteenth century agricultural colonization and population frontier has attracted the attention of a relatively large group of students, prominent among which is the geographer James Parsons, who has published several studies on that theme.⁸ His principal mode of explanation as regards the "raza antioqueño" was to view the aggressive social activity as a partial response to the ecological difficulties of poor soils and the needs to establish regional prosperity in the form of coffee cultivation.⁹ Hagen and Fajardo, on the other hand, espoused a psychological cause of antioqueño social change, seeing the regional conflicts between Bogotá and Popayán as crucial elements in the struggle to succeed.¹⁰ Safford has examined the role of leadership as a critical variable in the same process of regional development,¹¹ while López Toro has attempted to synthesize the various explanatory frames.¹² Only recently has any historical work been completed to test the long-standing notion that part of the energy and drive of the antioqueños stemmed from their Basque origins. The facts of genealogical evidence show that quite to the contrary of popular belief the antioqueños show no special pattern of regional origins that would distinguish them from other parts of present-day

Colombia,¹³ in spite of the recent work of North American scholars.¹⁴

Apart from the interest in the nineteenth century move south of the population from the new administrative center of Medellín relatively little has been written on the old colonial province. A major exception is the excellent study of Robert West who carefully documents the process of development in placer gold mining in the whole of New Granada.¹⁵ He has also more recently examined one of the consequences of mining, the settlement of negros in western Colombia.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that Twinam finds the labor supply and productivity of the gold mines a critical factor in her explanation of later events.¹⁷

In comparison with Antioquia practically no advanced geographical work has been completed on the Cumaná region. General studies of the settlement of the eastern region have been completed,¹⁸ as well as a rigorous retrospective study of population change in that part of Venezuela.¹⁹ As far as the role of cities in affecting the overall economic and spatial structure in the past one can only turn to the works of Gormsen,²⁰ Friedmann,²¹ both of which reflect the lack of historical training of the respective authors and their complete ignorance of the facts of the colonial period. Friedmann's general model, while superficially attractive, at the level of a single city-region such as Cumaná was found to be operationally untestable.

Similarly, the work of Traviesa²² on growth poles bears little relation to the empirical complexity of at least the period before 1800.

What the present study attempts to do is first describe, in as much detail as possible, the actual developments in two urban regions within the approximate period 1500-1800. Naturally there are many problems with selecting two centers: they can be described and analyzed separately, but rigorous comparison is made difficult by the imbalances in themes, the differences in quality of documentation, and most important in such a historical study, by the sheer absence of evidence--either by physical destruction of the documents, or the numerous repositories that have still to literally pick their documents off the floor, let alone catalogue them.

Working at the meso-scale of the region one also lacks the richly documented micro-studies that characterize extra-Latin American areas, or for example the numerous studies on Middle America. But at least it will be argued that the detailed examination of specific evolution at the regional level is better than the formal exercises in interpretation at the national level that characterizes so much of Latin American historiography. In moving across the documented stepping-stones of the region one risks the occasional stumble that wets one's feet, but that is one part of the excitement of the research endeavor.

ENDNOTES

1. For more details of the physical geography of the Antioquia region see: Ernesto Guhl, "Antioquia, el país geográfico y su aspecto fisiográfico," Revista de Seguridad Social Campesina, Editorial Cosmos, Bogotá, 1954, pp. 51-55; Ibid., "Aspecto socio-geográfico de la Provincia fisico-geográfica formada por el Valle del Río San Juan y por el Codo de los Mellizos y sus estribaciones hacia el Río Cauca (Dep. de Antioquia)," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. 2, 1954, pp. 37-42; Gerardo Botero Arango, "Contribución al conocimiento de la geología de la zona central de Antioquia," Anales de la Facultad de Minas, No. 57, 1963, p. 57; Ibid., "Contribución al conocimiento de la petrografía del batholito Antioqueño," Revista Minería, Vol. XX, 1942, pp. 9318-30; Ibid., "Geología sobre el ordoviciano de Antioquia," Revista Minería Vol. XVII, 1940, pp. 8249-56; Alberto Villegos y Gerardo Lozano, Estudio general de los bosques del Departamento de Antioquia (Bogotá, Instituto Agustín Codazzi, 1965); Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi, Estudio general de suelos y formaciones vegetales de Municipio de Santa Fe de Antioquia (no date); Doecko Goosen, A Study of Geomorphology and Soils in the Middle Magdalena Valley, Colombia, ITC Publications, Series B, No. 9, Vol. 1, Delft, The Netherlands, 1961; R. Wokittel, Geología económica del Chocó, No. 1275, Servicio Geológico Nacional, Bogotá, 1958, pp. 5-15; Hans Burgel, "Historia geológica de Colombia," Revista de la Academia Colombiana de Física y Matemáticas, Vol. XI, No. 43, 1961, pp. 137-91.
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CHAPTER II

ABORIGINAL POPULATION AT CONTACT

The "entrada" process

The routes first followed by white men to take possession of South American soil epitomized their greed and ceaseless eagerness to seek out "El Dorado" or any other of the many synonyms by which they identified the assumed aboriginal storehouse of treasure. The pursuit of such ubiquitous and well-hidden treasure led them towards the heartland of forests, mountains, and plains, where they opened paths and established cities, developed mines, subjugated the aboriginal peoples and seized their lands. Later, new routes appeared, those that led to newly discovered precious metals sources, other raw materials, and, most important, Indians. By such a process was Hispanic settlement initiated and mestizo America born.

The search for a Dabaibe or Dabeibe¹ of a valley or Arbí² of the Zenúfana³ or simply for the rich lands of the south or of legendary islands, motivated the passion of the Spaniards to discover and extract the gold both from veins and from the placers of the Antioqueño territory. In this way the first ephemeral Spanish settlements appeared, as a result of incursions into Indian settlement areas in which they reduced the existing population into

slaves, and their riches became appropriated by the conquerors.

From the third decade of the sixteenth century the expeditions were concentrated upon the exploration of the inland region which later became the colonial province of Antioquia. They left San Sebastian de Urabá⁴ provision center for the new miners or "guaqueros" of Zenú or Sinú.

In 1534, Alonso de Heredia led the first exploration into the province of Sinu, that is the region that contained the Alto Sinu, which extended approximately seventy-five miles according to the chronicles of that epoch.⁵ The principal center of the province was a village close by the extensive zone of "túmulos", that formed the general cemetery of all this aboriginal territory.⁶ The settlement included twenty spacious and well-ventilated houses, one of which was the residence of the cacique who gave the name to this indigenous nation. The explorers found themselves surrounded by a great extension of earth tombs, conical or almost square in shape; their size appeared to have been related in some way with the importance or rank of the individual buried within them.⁷ Upon the arrival of Heredia, the conqueror of this town, it was found abandoned. Nevertheless he was able to obtain sufficient food, thanks to the indigenous cultivation. He noticed the existence of an immense relict Indian sanctuary⁸ as well as a great number of "guacas." With the plunder of riches

contained in these tombs a new activity began, up to that date unknown; the Spanish word "guaquear," (to loot tombs) increased the lust for American gold.

As a consequence, communities of gold seekers were formed, which was of great importance in later evolution and expansion of colonization.

The benefits obtained in this first expedition led to others. Thus, one year later, Alonso de Heredia went east until reaching the zone of the lower San Jorge, named by the chroniclers "provincia de Panzenú," and culturally tied to it.⁹

On the journey the expedition crossed the plains that constituted part of the region (territories) of the powerful cacique Ayapel or Yapel, who resided in a settlement described by Castellanos¹⁰ in this way:

Porque tenían estos naturales/las casas todas bien aderezadas/con gran copia de huertas frutales/maravillosamente cultivadas/grandísimas labranzas de yucales/y con otras raíces dellos estimadas.

After ransacking this settlement and replenishing their food supplies, the conquerors continued to the next village, which they found abandoned, and where they replenished their supply of dried fish.¹¹ They continued along the western bank of the río Cauca,¹² to return later by the same route, discouraged from failing to find the riches they had hoped for. On returning, they found that the settlements of the provinces of Panzenú and Zinú had been

abandoned by the Indians, who took everything with them for security, including the gold from the tombs.

The indigenous population of these two regions decreased considerably after their first confrontations with the Spanish. In addition, their social organization deteriorated and Panzenú became the hiding place of fugitive slaves and unruly Indians.

During this period, the southwestern region of the Gulf of Urabá became another target of the search of the Dabaye. In 1536, Don Pedro de Heredia left the Puerto de San Sebastián de Buenavista with 210 men, sailed along the Gulf coast and, crossing one of the channels or mouths of the delta of the Río Darién or Atrato, followed the right bank. Then, he entered the interior through the river valley, crossing forests and suffering from the extreme heat characteristic of all that region. He arrived at an indigenous village of hunters and fishermen who lived in huts built in the treetops.¹³ Such peculiar housing was due to the frequent flooding in a zone of high precipitation and plagued by insects, poisonous reptiles, and ferocious animals.

In 1537, a group of Spaniards from the city of Cartagena made a new expedition under the command of the veteran captain Julio César, crossing for the first time the rugged mountainous district of Aribe.¹⁴ Until then, this mountainous district had been the natural frontier for discoveries and conquests since it forms part of the chain of western mountains that end at the coast of the Caribe River.

The group suffered all sorts of mishaps following the winding course of the rivers or crossing through the narrow and rugged paths¹⁵ of the mountains, cut by valleys densely populated by extremely prosperous Indians. After a difficult descent they arrived at the lands of the Cacique Nutibara, known by the chroniclers as the Valley of Guacá (Cuacá, or Guacá). Here, the numerous houses which formed the town, had walls of wood and roofs of long straw.¹⁶ The inhabitants entered into bitter struggles with the conquerors, and at the end the aboriginal population had been drastically reduced, while the Spaniards returned with a rich booty.

One year later the discovery of the indigenous tribes of the left bank of the Río Cauca was complete thanks to the entrada of the Oidor Juan de Badillo, with an army of one hundred men.¹⁷ He also crossed the mountainous district of Abibe, leaving en route not only wasted horses and negros which had escaped into the fastness of the mountains, but also various sick soldiers abandoned to their fate and many others who had died.

The group visited the already discovered Guaca Valley, where they fought ferociously with a tumult of Indians. They continued to the south as far as the Nore Valley, territory of the Cacique Nabonuco or Nabuco.¹⁸ The chronicles reported that the valley adjoined the province of Tatabe,¹⁹ land of rich Indians and warriors, who lived with their wives and children in large houses, built in the crowns of enormous

trees. The natives of the Nore Valley guided Licencio Badillo and his soldiers, among them César, up to the hill of Coromé,²⁰ densely populated until the arrival of the conquerors. From here, they continued south until they discovered rich veins of gold in the native province of Buriticá, of great importance both in the pre-hispanic epoch²¹ as well as during all of the sixteenth century. The township of the Buriticaes, situated on the hill of the same name, was the site of the residences of the regional caciques, for whom the Indians dug great quantities of gold from the mines. With the arrival of the conquerors, the natives burned the town and did not return to it, which demonstrated once again the military weakness of the Indian when confronted with the white man, and the conquest shock which caused real social chaos in the native towns, as well.

From the town of Buriticá they continued on to the neighboring town of Xundabe, and from here they continued towards the south along the left border of the Río Cauca. They crossed a rugged path in eroded and unvegetated mountains, until they arrived in the province of Caramanta,²² crossed by the Río San Juan. Its population displayed characteristics which showed them to be culturally and linguistically different from those other groups mentioned previously. They carved figures with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs, which were idols to whom they prayed when they needed sun or water to nourish the land. From

this site they proceeded to the place known by the natives as Umbra or Umbia, where later the Villa de Anserma was established in 1539. Later, they arrived at the valley of Lili, site of the city of Cali, where they met with other Spaniards proceeding from the south.

The indigenous populations of the left bank of the Río Cauca, at the arrival of the Spaniards, inhabited principally the temperate valleys of the western range of mountains and belonged to the great province of Catia. The chronicler Castellanos describes the populations of the zone north of the western slopes of this range as follows:²³

La principal de estas es Catia; a la segunda llaman Ibejico com-un contrato de esta serrania y ans-i su morada fugaz y rica Pequi se sigue, cuya valentia excede todas estas que publico mas adelante destas van las casas de Penco, tierra de sabanas racias por las cuales tmbi-en la de Norisco sin ocupar lugar montana alguna y las que caen en el, que es montisco son Ituango, Rubio, Ceracuna, Pebere, Nitana, Tuin, Quisco, tierras de manos propseras fortuna Araque, Carauta, con Guazuseco, y otra primera quellas, dicha Teco.

The Spaniards who explored, conquered, and established cities in the southern Andes, Quito (1534), and Pasto (1539), also had information about the auriferous riches in territories north of these new urban centers. These riches were the reason that they continued on towards the river basin of the high Cauca and established there the foundations for future explorations, Popayán (1536), Cali (1536), and

Anserma (1539). From Anserma, its founder, Captain Robledo, began the discovery and conquest of the indigenous settlements, not only along the right bank of the upper and middle Cauca, but also along inroads on the other side of the river. That is, he traversed a great portion of the lands which much later would form the province "between the two rivers." This is the way he succeeded in the exploitation and administration of the rich valleys of the Ríos Cauca and Magdalena (Figure 2).²⁴

Robledo sent one of his captains to govern the Indians of Caramanta, while he, personally, continued to pacify different tribes in the south of the Arma River: the Carrapas, where today are located the towns of Palestina and Manizales; the Picaras, in what is today Aranzazu and Filadelfia; and the Pozos and Paucaras.²⁵

In order to reach his objective, Robledo settled himself in the nearby region and in 1540 founded the city of San Jorge de Cartago, at the site of present-day Pereira, near the placer mines on the slopes of the central range of mountains.

Once he had subdued these tribes, he continued his expedition towards the north, to the fertile and populated "Provincia de Cucuy" also named by the Spaniards Arma or of the Armados, situated on the borders of the present Departments of Antioquia and Caldas.²⁶ Later, still driven by his eagerness to find the valley Arbí, he followed the eastern bank of the Río Santa Martha or Cauca up to Pueblo Blanco

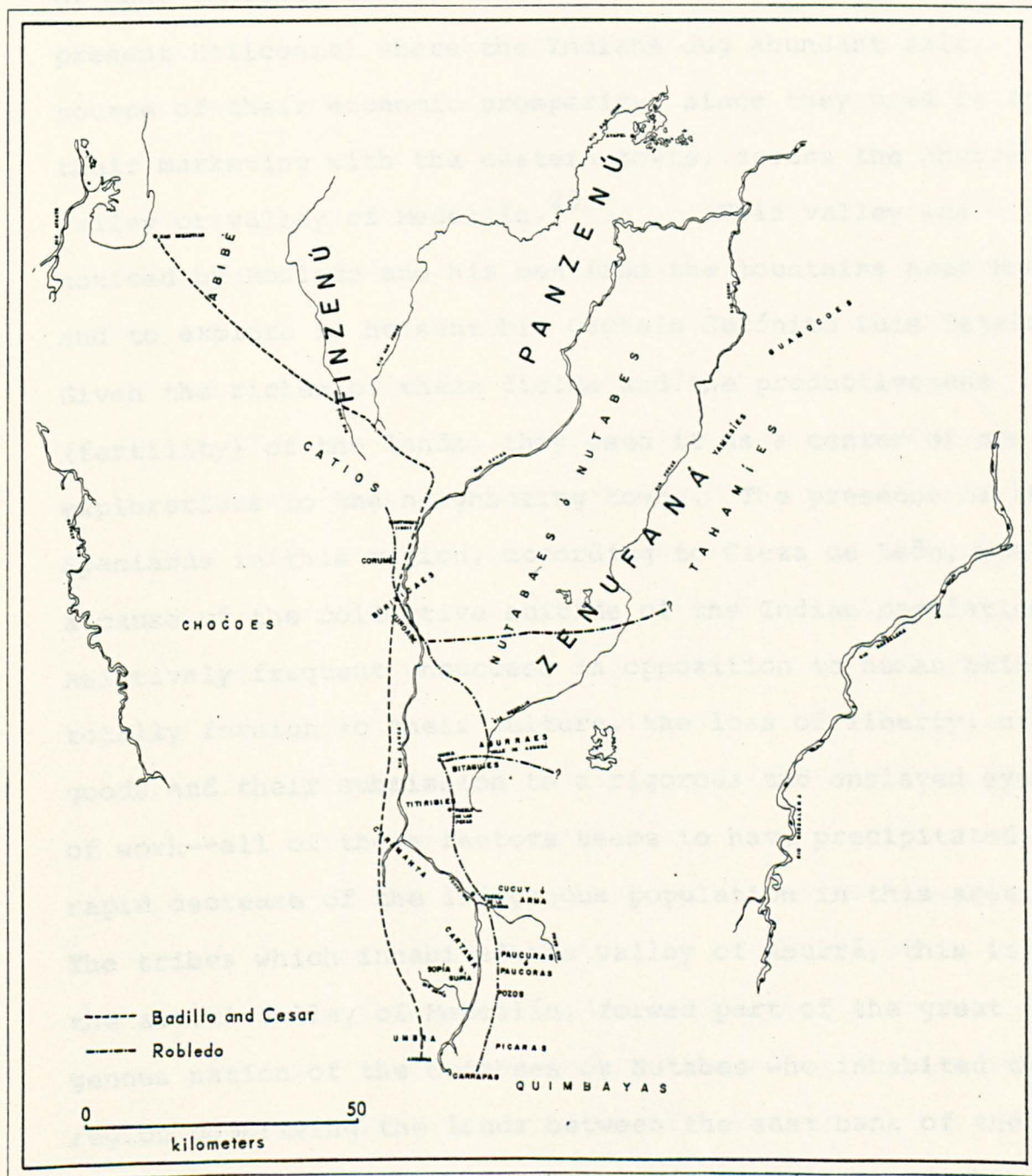


Figure 2. Routes of early explorers in Antioquia

and, from here to the rich territory of the Zenufanaes or town of Cenúfana²⁷ where they believed large and rich burial grounds existed. In their search they found mines and traces of many vanished towns, until they arrived at Mugía (at present Heliconia) where the Indians dug abundant salt, source of their economic prosperity, since they used it for their marketing with the eastern towns, across the Aburrá Valley or valley of Medellín.²⁸

This valley was noticed by Robledo and his men from the mountains near Mugía and to explore it he sent his Captain Jerónimo Luis Tejelo. Given the riches of these fields and the productiveness (fertility) of the lands, they used it as a center of new explorations to the neighboring towns. The presence of the Spaniards in this region, according to Cieza de León, was a cause of the collective suicide of the Indian population. Relatively frequent unsucccess in opposition to human beings totally foreign to their culture, the loss of liberty, of goods and their submission to a rigorous and enslaved system of work--all of these factors seems to have precipitated the rapid decrease of the indigenous population in this area. The tribes which inhabited the valley of Aburrá, this is the actual valley of Medellín, formed part of the great indigenous nation of the Nutabaes or Nutabes who inhabited the region comprising the lands between the east bank of the río Cauca and the western bank of the Río Porce. Among the sub-groups that inhabited this extensive valley were the Aburras,

Bitaqwies, and Niquias;²⁹ and, toward the north lived the Yuscas, Taquibures, Caerquias or Cuerpias, among others. The congregation of tribes in this region is accounted for at least in part by the great auriferous richness, to which Castellanos refers in these terms:³⁰

Porque quebradas, ríos, vertederos, y cualquiera lugar que se catea manifiestan auríferos veneros.

The Nutabaes traded with the towns of the region between the Ríos Porce and Magdalena, that coincided with the nation of the Tahamies. Among these, the Guamocoes inhabited the northwestern zone and the Yamesies the southeastern zone, with whom it seems he had his first contact. An advanced group under the control of Captain Robledo, having crossed the Río Porce, according to some historians, or Río Grande³¹ according to others, found a town with fields of manioc and corn.³² Its natives, painted and decorated with tufts of feathers, with a rain of arrows forced the Spaniards to return to the place where the rest of the expedition was camped. Because they still had not found Arbí, they changed their course and continued in a northwestern direction towards the Río Cauca.³³ They passed through, in turn, on the bank of the river, small towns whose inhabitants had in great part abandoned them. At the altitude of the present towns of Sucre and Olaya, they crossed the Río Cauca up to Coromé, a settlement already known by the Oidor Badillo and situated in a valley which was well-populated before the arrival of

the conquerors. It is assumed that their locality may have been situated to the south of the actual town of Santa Agueda. From this position they made different excursions through the territory of the neighboring tribes, one of which led them, after two days of travelling through difficult roads, to the valley of Ebejico where they established the first city of Antio, probably in the proximity of what is today the town of Peque. In its environs, according to Robledo's description, were the native provinces of Penco, Ituango, Jundabe, Brevo, Parruto, Coromé and others (Figure 2).

The establishment of the city of Antioquia in 1541 signified the culmination of a stage in the process of exploration of this territory, an unstable and fluid stage, which gave way to others which led to the eventual pattern of definitive control over the region. With the origin of the first urban place the foundational phase was initiated and the first Spanish base of mine exploration was established in the ores of Buriticá, deep in the valley of the Río Cauca.

The chronicled reports relative to ethno-historical aspects of the western zone of New Granada allowed certain similarities and differences to be established between the Indian groups of Catios, Nutabaes, and Tahamies.

The Catia culture seems to have been the most developed, as is shown by the existence of a measurement system that consisted of a small scale³⁴ to weigh gold. Another important feature of this group was their use of an

incipient form of writing, that corresponded to hieroglyphic signs carved on golden plaques, found in the tombs or "guacas".³⁵

None of these three nations constituted a culturally homogeneous unit, but rather a variety of linguistically independent and heterogeneous groups dispersed in the warm and fluvial prairies, or in the more temperate valleys of the western and central ranges of mountains of the Antioqueño Andes.

As determined by their social and economic organization, these Indian groups were of Carib type; they were very quickly acculturated by the Spanish.³⁶ They practiced polygamy, the number of wives apparently being in direct relation to the capabilities of the individual to support them. They had developed a rudimentary form of subsistence agriculture. The food base consisted primarily of corn (Zea mays), the sweet manioc (Manihot utilissima), peruvian carrot (Arraccia xantorrhiza), sweet potato (Ipomoca batata) and other cultivated roots, aside from cocoa (Theobroma cacao), plantain (Musa parodisiaca), and in the temperate zone potatoes (Solonum andigenum). Several fruits were an important part of their diet, among the most frequent were: guava (Psidium guayaba), alligator-pear or avocado (Persea americana), guama (Familia Mimosaceas), and pineapple (Ananas sativus). To these foodstuffs were added the protein which could be obtained by hunting game or fishing in rivers and

lakes. They were excellent prospectors and gold diggers, a metal which they knew how to treat with different techniques and rudimentary instruments, to produce objects for domestic and ornamental use.

In contradistinction to the information that is available concerning the tribes which inhabited the temperate zones, very little is known in respect of whom the inhabitants of the high zones of this region were.

One of the major difficulties in the fields of geographical-historical investigation lies in reconstructing the consecutive transformation of certain population groups which had experienced violent changes, without having the necessary testimonies on the operative modifications. The problem of population decline is easy to understand by merely examining the substantially different estimates with respect to the density of the indigenous American villages at the moment of conquest.³⁷ The facts of the matter speak of a quantitative blow to the aboriginal culture and settlements of New Granada that took four generations of demographic recuperation.

The traditional sources of evidence on the numbers of Indians in Antioquia are the works of the chronicler Cieza de León,³⁸ and of the cosmographer Juan López de Velasco,³⁹ of the Augustinian friar Guillermo Escobar,⁴⁰ and, from almost the same date, the writings of Guillermo Chaparro, public prosecutor to the Real Audience of Santa Fé and

Oidor of the Nuevo Reino. In general, the data presented by them are somewhat vague; they are also only partial as they limit their comments to those towns visited personally by them. Nevertheless, bearing in mind this limitation, the demographic data together with the clue afforded by the physical evidence of indigenous tombs, already in "guacas" or in so-called "pueblos," allows one to conclude that the Antioqueño territory had been inhabited by people before the arrival of the Spanish conqueror. The figures of the aboriginal population remain imprecise and generally unreliable.⁴¹ Don Tulio de Ospina estimated the Antioquia Indian population, in the middle of the sixteenth century, to be more than 600,000 "useful Indians" of mine and macana,⁴² a figure which in Antioquia corresponded to those Indians who appeared on the tribute lists.⁴³ This population was distributed in differentiated agglomerations situated in those areas where the ecological characteristics were favorable for the development of diverse activities.

Parsons considers Ospina's figures of 600,000 (who applied an average of five individuals per tributary⁴⁴) as "logical and unquestionable," and from which he calculates a total population of around 150,000 tribute-paying Indians. Hermann Triborn considers the figure calculated by Felipe Pérez in the nineteenth century, of 100,000 Indians, as on the low side for the entire province of Antioquia.⁴⁵

ENDNOTES

1. El Debaibe, Dabeibe or Dabaybe seems to have been on the western slopes of the Cordillera Occidental Antioquena, known by some as "Mesa del Choco". Letter to the King from Vasco Núñez de Balboa, 1513, footnoted in Vicente Robledo, Estudios sobre las Minas de Oro y plata en Colombia (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1952), p. 47. Pedro Cieza de León, La Crónica del Perú (Spain: Edition Espasa-Calpe, 1962), pp. 20-60. See also: Carl Sauer, The Early Spanish Main (Berkeley, 1966), pp. 224-27.
2. Cieza de León, op. cit., 1962, pp. 54, 68 & 84. Manuel Uribe Angel, Geografía general y compendio histórico del Estado de Antioquia (Paris, 1885), p. 639.
3. Emilio Robledo, La vida del Mariscal Robledo, Vol. XXIII of the Biblioteca de Historia Nacional (1945), p. 45. Situated in Cenúfana or Zenúfana some six leagues south-east of the valley of Aburrá, in the area of a small quebrada but this location is clearly only one small toponymic relic of the much bigger Zenúfana. For details see B. LeRoy Gordon, Human Geography and Ecology in the Sinú Country of Colombia (Berkeley, Iberoamericana, 1957), pp. 33-56.
4. Manuel Uribe Angel, op. cit., pp. 593-96.
5. Juan Friede, Colección de Documentos Inéditos para La Historia de Colombia, 1509-1540, 9 vols. (1955-1960), Vol. III, p.260.
6. James J. Parsons, "The Settlement of the Sinú Valley of Colombia," Geographical Review XLII (1952):71 located the village of the sepulchres north of the Ciénega de Betancí, in the central zone of the Río Sinú.
7. Robert White, "Notes on the Aboriginal Races of the Northwestern Provinces of South America," Journal of Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XIII (1844): 204-250.

8. The fundamental pre-historic crops of the actual Antioquian territories were nourishing plants of starchy roots whose tubers had a wide use among the Indians. See LeRoy Gordon, op. cit., pp. 57 et seq.
9. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Informe de Gaspar de Rodas al Rey," dated 20 April, 1583;
Restrepo Tirado, "Cargos contra Pedro de Heredia," BHA XX, 1942, p.87 give different figures on the gold which the explorers obtained.
10. James J. Parsons, Los campos de cultivo pre-hispánicos del bajo San Jorge (Bogotá, 1973), p.2. The Panzenú was located in the area of the lower course of the Río San Jorge.
11. They were referring to the plains of Ayapel which are actually in the Departamento de Córdoba.
12. Juan Castellanos, "Descripción de Ayapel," (1874), p. 382. They are referring to the plains of Ayapel which are actually in the Departamento de Córdoba.
13. A zarzo or platform above the houses or huts where the grains and fruits were stored.
14. Cieza de León, op. cit., named the lower river the Cauca but on referring to the middle and upper course of the same river, called it Río Grande de Santa Martha. See Acosta, op. cit., p. 296.
15. Ernesto B. Hernandez, Urabá Heroico (1956), p. 56. According to that author, that native group belonged to the Urabaes who populated the area from the Río Atrato up to the point of Caribana, in the northwestern section of the Gulf of Urabá some 80 leagues from "tierra adentro".
16. Cieza de León, op. cit., pp. 54, 56. The Serranía de Abibe is a watershed whose crest is the limit of the actual Departamentos de Antioquia and Córdoba.
17. Ibid., pp. 58 & 59 calculated the male population of the valley as more than 20,000 warriors.
18. Ibid., pp. 58-60, according to the figures which they give to the groups who inhabited the valleys of the western range of mountains, it is evident that that region was densely populated at the arrival of the Spaniards.

19. B. Hernandez, op. cit., p. 685. Cieza de León, op. cit., p. 60.
20. James Parsons, La Colonización Antioqueña en el Occidente de Colombia, (Dept. de Antioquia, 1950), p. 34 and Uribe Angel, op. cit., p. 641. They place it on the east side of the range of mountains in the vicinity and north of the present Anza. According to the description of Cieza it was just before the territory of the Buriticase, on the road which continued from Antioquia La Vieja to la Villa de Anserma. Cieza de León, op. cit., pp. 65-66.
21. Cieza de León, op. cit., p. 66.
22. Geronimo Gray Escobar, "Memoria al Real Consejo de Indias de lo que toca a la Provinica de Popayán," in Anales de Instrucción Pública (Bogotá, 1889), Vol. XV, p. 105 indicates that the Caramantas had a population of 25,000 Indians at the arrival of the Spaniards.
23. Juan Castellanos, "Historia de la gobernación de Antioquia y de la del Chocó," BPCC (1942), p. 2.
24. Ibid., pp. 75-86.
25. Ibid., p. 87.
26. Gray Escobar, op. cit., p. 101 calculates for the Arma district a population of 80,000 at the arrival of the Spaniards. Cieza de León, op. cit., calculated 20,000 "indios de guerra." Restrepo Tirado, Ensayo Etnográfico y Arqueológico de las Provincias de los Quimbayas (Bogotá, 1892).
27. Acosta, op. cit., p. 151.
28. Robledo, op. cit., p. 95. Cieza de León, op. cit., p. 73. Acosta, op. cit., p. 204. Valle de Aburrá, San Bartolomé or Valle de Bartolomé de los Alcazares.
29. Luis López Mesa, "Análisis e Interpretación del Pueblo Antioqueño," in Colección Academia Antioqueña (1972), no. 19, p. 55.
30. Castellanos, op. cit., 1942, p. 7.
31. Uribe Angel, op. cit., p. 638.
32. AGI, Patronato, Ramo 66, Legajo 28.
33. Cieza de León, op. cit., p. 62.

34. Castellanos, op. cit., p. 3.
35. López Mesa, op. cit., p. 55 affirms that they were related to the Quimbayas or to the Zenues. Uribe Angel, op. cit., p. 510 states that they were of carib origin, who invaded periodically in canoes along the coasts of "Tierra Firma".
36. Several estimates of aboriginal American population exist:
- (a) Paul Rivet, "Langues du l'Amérique du Sud et des Antilles," in Les Langues du Monde, Vol. XVI (Paris, 1924). Los Origenes del Hombre Americano, 2nd ed. (Mexico, FCE, 1966): 40 million.
 - (b) Angel Rosenblat, La población indígena y el mestizaje en América, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, Editorial Nova, 1954), p. 306: 13.38 million.
 - (c) Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. V., (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1948), p. 660: 15.5 million.
 - (d) Henry F. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemispheric Estimate," Current Anthropology 7 (1966): 395-416. Dobyns suggests a population of 90.04 million for the entire American continent.
 - (e) Sapper, Die Zahl and Völksdichte der Indianischer, Bevölkerung in Amerike vorder Conquista und in der Gegenvert (The Hague, 1924): 50 million.
 - (f) William M. Denevan (ed.), The Native Population of the Americas in 1492 (Madison, Wisc., 1976) suggests that the aboriginal population of America was:

North America	4,400,000
Mexico	21,400,000
Central America	5,650,000
Caribbean	5,850,000
Andes	11,500,000
Lowland South A.	8,500,000
	<u>57,000,000</u>

37. López de Velazco, Geografía y Descripción de las Indias, 1571-1574 (Madrid, 1894) in Emilio Robledo, Bosquejo Biográfico de Antonio Mon y Velarde, Visitador de Antioquia, (1785-1788), Vol. I (Bogotá, 1954), p. 28.

38. Francisco Chaparro Guillen, "Memoria de los pueblos de la Gobernación de Popayán . . . 1583," in Análisis de la Instrucción Pública (1889).
39. Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, Ensayos sobre Historia Social Colombiana, UNC, BUCC. Población indígena de Colombia en el momento de la conquista y sus transformaciones posteriores (1968), p. 91.
40. Ibid., p. 140 considers that such figure was considered by Triborn as imprecise. See Herman Triborn, Señorio y Barbarie en el Valle del Cauca (Madrid, 1949), p. 140.
41. Ospina Tulio, "Decadencia de Antioquia en los siglos XVII y XVIII," Colección Academia de Antioquia (Medellín, 1900), No. 19, pp. 23-52 calculates the population which the valleys of the Ríos Cauca and Nechí inhabited to be about 600,000 people, a population which was divided amongst the encomenderos, p. 23. He adds that, within 50 years, of the 120,000 indios of labor only 1,500 based on Herrera Campuzano's visita were left, p. 24.
42. Jaramillo Uribe, op. cit., p. 98 considers that it is more accurate to apply a coefficient of three persons for the sixteenth century, four in the seventeenth century and five in the eighteenth century.
43. Triborn, "Der Kannibalismus im Cauca," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 70 (1920):310-330.

CHAPTER III

ABORIGINAL PATTERNS AND THEIR MODIFICATION
BY THE SPANISH CONQUESTThe course of urban settlement

The origins of urban colonial centers in Spanish America have been attributed to a variety of reasons: as political control mechanisms; as centers of religious or military order, and in many instances as foci of economic activity. As components of economic order, towns and cities were necessary to establish centers for commercial exchange; as contact nodes in communications with Spain; and as intermediate points in the principal commercial routes and areas of agricultural or mineral exploitation.

The rich auriferous deposits much commented on since the earliest chronicles and the presence of numerous graves not only determined to a large extent the entrance paths of the conquerors inland, but they were decisive factors in the geographical distribution of the Spanish population centers in Antioquia. The permanence of these early Spanish centers in their original locations and their subsequent pattern of urban development were conditioned by the existence of an exploitable resource which brought about the particular process of economic development of the Antioquia region.

Antioquia (Figure 3) with rugged mountainous topography, traversed by Andean spurs and drained via the basin of the Cauca and the Magdalena, possessed an impressive quantity of rich veins (vetas and venillas) that had been injected into the granite, the diorite, or syenitic and feldspathic porphyrys. In many localities the weathering and erosion of these primary ores had resulted in their redeposition in clayish and gravelly deposits or alluvials of many rivers and streams.¹ Such secondary enrichments were usually called placers.

The establishment of Antioquia in 1541 initiated the dynamic process of European population foundations (ciudades and villas) and the consequent modifications of the aboriginal landscape. The primary urban pattern was the direct consequence of a desperate search for gold; the relationship between urban location and economic resource base provides ample evidence of this fact.

The origin of the name Antioquia has variously been interpreted as the city proper, or alternatively as the totality of the administrative region falling under its control. For some historians the name is aboriginal in origin, meaning "land of gold";² others find its origin in the etymology of the word that means "land against peace and stagnation" (tierra contra la quietud y el estancamiento).³ The name was in honor of the florescent

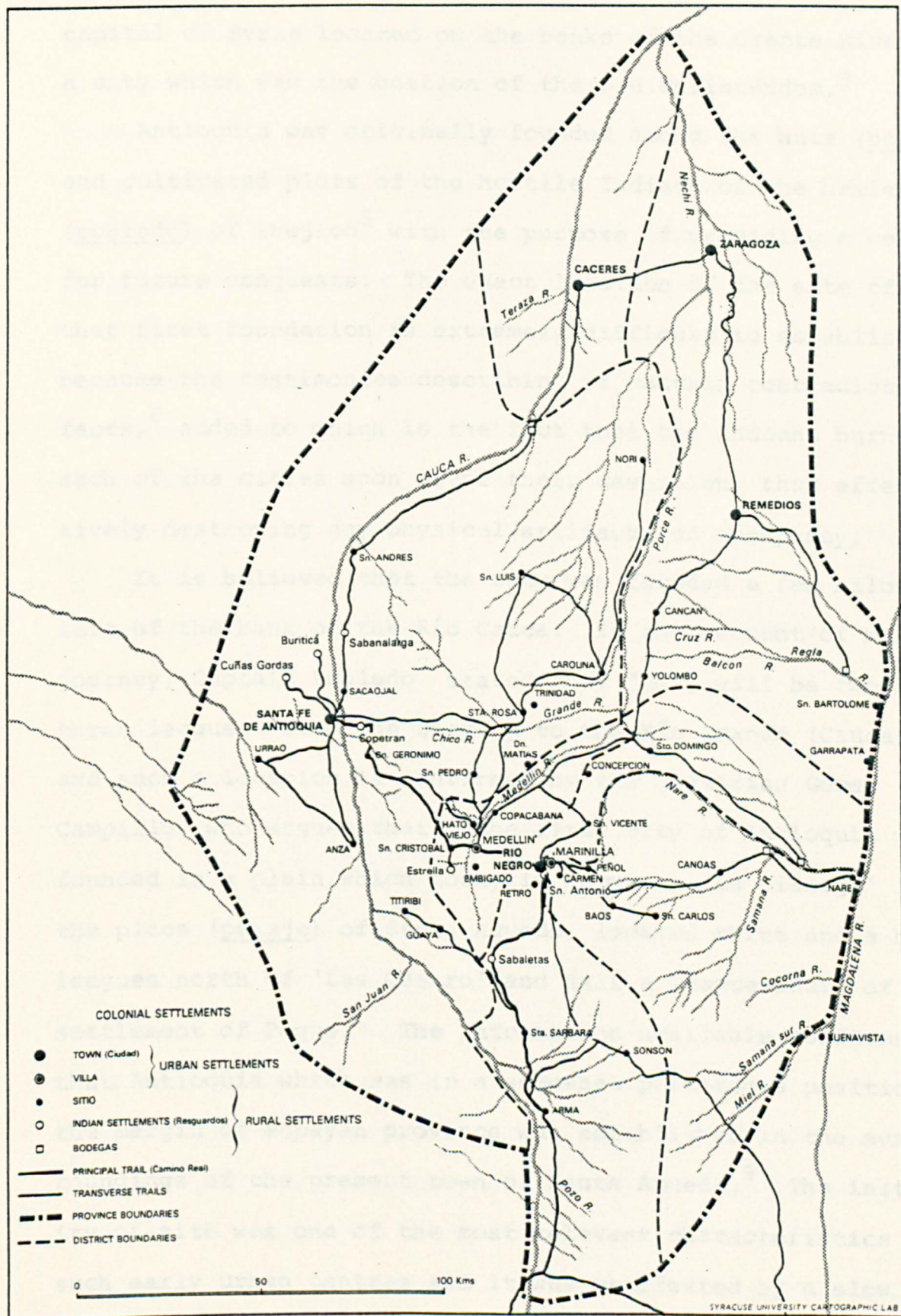


Figure 3. The colonial Province of Antioquia

capital of Syria located on the banks of the Orante River, a city which was the bastion of the old Christendom.⁴

Antioquia was originally founded among the huts (bohíos) and cultivated plots of the hostile Indians of the hamlet (poblado) of Ebejico⁵ with the purpose of providing a center for future conquests. The exact location of the site of that first foundation is extremely difficult to establish because the testimonies describing it contain contradictory facts,⁶ added to which is the fact that the Indians burned each of the cities soon after their desertion, thus effectively destroying any physical artifacts of occupancy.

It is believed that the city was founded a few kilometers left of the bank of the Río Cauca. In the account of his journey, Captain Robledo⁷ stated that "they will be two or three leagues" from the city up to the Río Grande (Cauca) and such a location is confirmed by the historian Gomez Campillo⁸ who argues that: "the first city of Antioquia was founded in a plain which today is known as 'La Ciénaga' in the place (pasaje) of Santa Agueda, located three and a half leagues north of 'Las Cuatro' and half a league south of the settlement of Peque." The information available confirms that Antioquia which was in a somewhat precarious position at the margin of Popayán province was established in the surroundings of the present town of Santa Agueda.⁹ The instability of site was one of the most relevant characteristics of such early urban centers and it was manifested by a slow and

gradual abandonment or an abrupt desertion and total decay of the urban settlement; in some cases the relocation process involved a complete legal refoundation. In other cases such settlement movement was associated with the relocation of Spanish population in order to increase the political and economic power of another urban regional center. The first relocation of Antioquia was caused by the rivalry and tensions involved between two groups of conquerors¹⁰ who were disputing the jurisdiction of the city. Additionally, the town citizens (vecinos) realized very quickly that the site chosen offered few possibilities of prospective prosperity to the newly arrived urban settlers.¹¹ Such opinions are described in the chronicle of Castellanos in the following way:¹²

Pero después de aquellas competencias,
por no ser sitio bien acomodado,
ansi para salud como defensa
del nuevo morador, por la bravela
del natural vecino reluevante,
por orden del ilustre Belalcazar
aguesda población fue trasladada

One year of its existence had hardly passed by when the city was moved and reestablished¹³ in the open valley of Norí or Noré.¹⁴ The settlement act describes the new site of Antioquia as "that cave amidst two small pathways that come from the Sierra at internal of one of the other plains."¹⁵ In this document as in the previous one, the settlers took pains to establish the town in a "place of many [agricultural] lands, pastures, mountains, wood and water" and furthermore,

the possibility of a subsequent move is considered, for he adds: "that such rearrangement told what they did and used to do with the notice that if the said Captain and Lieutenant Governor aforementioned and the council from this city, should move or transfer to another part within his limits, leaving for improvements he would have better attention and other particular things, as such a city needs to have the neighbors, conquerors, and natives receive honor, benefit and peace, and the natural Indians of the neighboring lands, [be done] less harm."¹⁶ The new site of Antioquia was located in the deep valley of the high river of Sucio-Cañasgordas¹⁷ and very close to the actual city of Frontino. This new place was surrounded by rivers and streams abundant with alluvial and vein deposits of rich gold, zones of previous indigenous extraction, an activity which after the Spanish population had arrived continued until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Even after the city had been abandoned, and in spite of the continuous attacks by the nearby Indians, and by the limited possibilities of defense and development, gold mining continued.

Another characteristic of the settlement of Antioquia, as of all towns of that period, was its militaristic character. That resulted from a private, personal, and individualistic element, the imposition of the will of the conqueror Robledo, who chose the place to his pleasure, for tactical or strategic reasons, as he ordained it a center of defense, from

which attacks on the neighboring Indians who constantly beseiged her could be mounted. From Antioquia were directed military moves to dominate the aboriginal population of the region.

In this same decade, the city of Arma was established within the jurisdiction of the province.¹⁸ This town of Spaniards was established in the prosperous lands of the Armados with the purpose of subduing the numerous hostile Indians of the zone¹⁹ and in order to exploit the rich alluvium of the deep valley in the middle Cauca.

From its original location approximately three leagues (15 kilometers) from the right bank of the Río Cauca, the city of Arma was moved a distance of two leagues toward the river. The original site was not only too close to the neighboring indigenous tribes for comfort, but also its natives complained of not having sufficient lands for their agricultural plots and dwellings.²⁰ The new site of the city of Cauca allowed the exploitation of placers which were only five kilometers away.²¹ At the same time the move created the proper atmosphere for its better defense, rather than the continued struggle for riches, power, and social prestige.

In June of 1546, Robledo having gained information as to the auriferous riches of the Cerro Buriticá²² and in order to secure the administrative control in this arid valley to profit from the beds of gold, founded the town which is now called Santa Fe.²³ The location of the settlement was in the narrow, small and warm valley, located on

the hilly eastern bank²⁴ of the Río Tonusco, various kilometers upstream of its confluence with the río Cauca, some forty leagues from the closest town of government, Popayán, and one hundred leagues from Cali, the then capital of the entire region. The exploitation of the strikes of Buriticá initially reflected the indigenous mining venturers who long before had been skilled mineral prospectors, as well as expert artisans in gold. The method used by them was to excavate wells or cavities in circular form, about one meter wide, penetrating vertically until the mineral deposit was sectioned.²⁵

The natives of the Antioquian region possessed a limited number of small and somewhat primitive tools to operate the mines. The Buriticaes utilized coas of wood and stone and they helped themselves with a type of oil lamp with which they lit the underground passages. The stone mortar was another tool common among them, utilized to grind the gang of rock-crystal before it was washed.

At the end of the 1540's there appeared yet another urban center which experienced a series of ephemeral sites. This was located in the central reaches of the Río Cauca near the junction of the Río San Juan, near the present city of Andes, established on lands belonging to the subgroups of Caramanta, after whom it was named. The territory of this new town also contained a number of gold mines.²⁶

The cities established before 1550 followed the paths

of the conquerors Badillo and Robledo (Figure 2); the population concentrated around the auriferous fields of Buriticá and near the alluvial sands of the Río Cauca. Thus it was that these areas of territory were the first of the aboriginal landscape of Antioquia to be altered, introducing new forms of human settlement, be they town or nucleated village.

During the first few years the inhabitants of the Antioquia township of Santa F  led a modest life; their houses were simple plain ranchos and their primary task was to cultivate the arable plots of the surrounding hill with the aid of slave and Indian labor.²⁷

During the summer, the native Indians and negros operated the placer mines of the nearby Río Cauca, a task described by Cieza de León in the following way:²⁸

cuando es verano sacan los indios
y negros en las playas hasta riqueza
y por tiempo sacar n mayor cantidad
porque habra m s negros.

In one document Gaspar de Rodas stated²⁹ that he had established this villa in 1550, which, though it is not possible to confirm, because of the fact of his having lived in this mining center long before it became a political entity, allowed him to further his claims to such a circumstance. Some neighbors apparently had helped with his cuadrillas in old Antioquia.³⁰ In this way, Gaspar de Rodas reconstructed the city, which previously had surrendered several times before Indian attacks.³¹

It should be noted that from the villa of Victory³²

situated on the border of the Río Miel, an affluent of the southern river of Samana, in 1560 Captain Francisco Martinez de Ospina, authorized by the chapter of that city, departed northward in command of a small expeditionary group toward the eastern Antioquia territory in search of the mining riches which, unbeknown to them, had already been discovered.³³ They came to the valley known as "Corpus Christi," where they established the city of Remedios on the banks of the Río San Carlos.³⁴ Nuestra Señora de Remedios experienced first a move towards the north, to a new site called "Buanvista." One year later, in 1563, it was removed to another location in the "Valley of San Blas," in the place that was called "La Teta," behind Marinilla, where a river entered the Río Magdalena (Figure 4).³⁵

The exhaustion of placers in the zone brought about a decrease in the number of miners and merchants who normally provided each new urban center with its base population. A major smallpox epidemic completed the devastation of the city, reducing it to one-tenth of its size, the natives being especially hard hit,³⁶ and a new transfer of the city was required. In 1589 Remedios was established one hundred kilometers to the north in the prairies of San Bartolomé³⁷ but this transfer was short-lived, coming to an end in 1594 when the new site of "Las Quebradas," on the northeastern border of the Antioquian batholith, situated near extraordinary rich mines, was occupied.

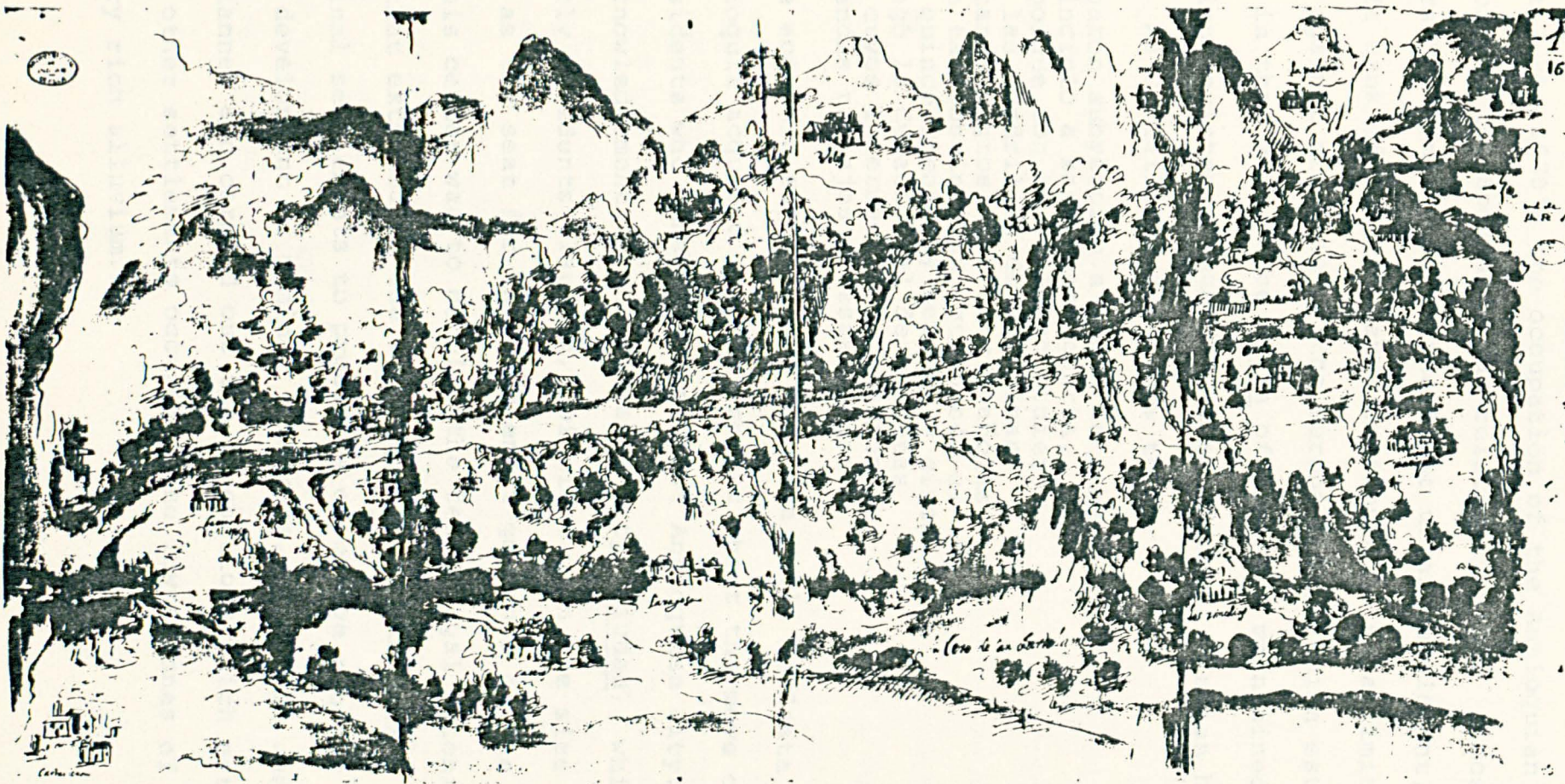


Figure 4. Map of the River Magdalena, around 1720

Source: AGI, Mapas y Planos, Panama 24.

Until the 1570's the occupation of the Antioquian territory by the Spaniards was relatively slow. Almost 30 years had gone by since the first urban settlement, and the left bank of the Río Cauca continued to be a limiting factor against progress by the European population established in that zone. The villa of Santa Fe maintained a precarious existence caused by the continual Indian hostilities. As Castellanos describes them

Negaron subyección a quien la daban
principio a sangrienta guerra,
y porque con la villa no podieron
en las cuadrillas de las minas,
matando negros, indios y españoles
con tal obstinación, que desde el año
de quince cientos y sesenta y cinco
llegó la duración al de sesentas
en cuyos intermedios padecieron
grandes trabajos y desasosiegos.

The economic significance that the Villa de Santa Fe de Antioquia acquired in part brought about the move of the few residents who inhabited the first Antioquian city. The acknowledgement of the title of city (ciudad), which the early residents flaunted, coincided with the site being chosen as the seat for the lieutenant-governor of the province. From this center was to develop the centrifugal colonizing power that extended to the adjacent zones, submitting the aboriginal settlements to processes of change closely related to the development of mining. Likewise, from this center were planned and carried out the expeditions which established other settlements occupying the lower zones of extraordinary rich alluvium.

The intensive expansion outward from this villa was due to the work of Gaspar de Rodas, who soon realized the richness of the geological resources of the territory and the urgent need to control the native Indians in order to secure the stability and survival of the early towns, and insure the success of the economic enterprises. In his eagerness to carry through his plans, he reduced and distributed the natives that inhabited the valleys of the western range of mountains and even went so far as to raid the prairies of Sinú for alternative labor.³⁹ The citizens of the Villa de Santa Fe de Antioquia were given preferential treatment in the allocation of the natives of the Ebejico and Peque Valleys; these were allotted for reparation for the damage caused by the new settlers of the city of San Juan de Rodas, established in 1576, almost at the end of the sequence of repeated incursions into the territory on the western margins of the Río Cauca. The site that was given to that new mining center was in the place of "Paramillo."⁴⁰ The site of that city was also modified on various occasions by alterations in the patterns of aboriginal population⁴¹ until it found its permanent site in 1584 in the extreme north of the territory and in a forested zone in the upper Río San Jorge, a tributary of the Magdalena and used as a means of provision by the town.⁴²

Jurisdictional developments

The region began in 1569 as a political-administrative unit independent of Popayán with the appointment of Andrés de Valdivia as first governor who had made the "agreement"⁴³ with the king in the following words:

Primeramente os hacemos merced de la dicha governación poblazon e reedificación de las dichas provincias de Antioquia, Ituanog, Nibe y otras 'entre los dos rios' que dicen en todo se llamé e títula la provincia de Antiocha y se extiende la dichaprovincia de Antiochia y sus provincias comarcanas hasta que la mardel Norte e Puerto de Urabá conque no entre la dicha governación ningun lugar de los poblados del presente de españoles ni de indios que este pacificados.

During the colonial period the province of Antioquia covered a large part of the basin of the lower Cauca, founded by Mompox and Cartagena at the north; it formed the region "between two rivers." To the south it was limited by the cities of Arma and Anserma, and to the west the limits were always uncertain, extending beyond the western range of mountains.

Andrés de Valdivia tried to reestablish Antioquia La Vieja, which remained as a small placer field inhabited by a few Spaniards with their work gangs, and wanted to make it capital of his government, but the courageous Carios Indians forced him to renounce such intentions.⁴⁴ Not reaching his objectives in the western zone of the Río Cauca, he turned towards the east which, being a "more fertile and stable"⁴⁵ land, he found fit for his plans.

Before crossing the Río Cauca, he established a "town having silver mines" on its bank⁴⁶

whose gold mines in general are lands of twenty square leagues and at present is mined and populated . . . where they mine by weight and a ducat per panner.⁴⁷

They crossed the river over a bridge which they made out of cane and cowhide, in Indian style, and they penetrated into the interior land of the Nutabaes.⁴⁸ They moved through the valley of Nutabe or Guarcama (San Andrés) following and repairing the Indian trails until arriving at the Nohaba hill, where they established Ubeda⁴⁹ near abundant gold mines in terrace deposits.

In the place where the abandoned Ubeda had been established and near present-day Valdivia, in 1576 Gaspar de Rodas established the city of San Martín de Cáceres and made distributions and allotments among the thirty Spaniards present.⁵⁰ The settlement, five kilometers from the Río Cauca and fifteen south of the recently established settlement of Espíritu Santo, proved to be unhealthy and uncomfortable for its residents since it was situated on "a windy, foggy, and cold hill," from which they requested their immediate transfer. Besides the profitable mines nearby the city of Cáceres was also important due to its location on a pass leading toward the coast of Cartagena. In 1690, this city was moved to the shores of the Río Cauca, "in a dense forest, whose soil is pleasing, fertile and fit for establishing cultivations."⁵¹

As soon as this city had been established, a group of Spaniards descended the Río Cauca, in canoes built by the Indians with news about the settlement of the Villa de Mompo, so as to obtain the indispensable aid of the tradesmen, who provided them with food and clothing.⁵² Cáceres acquired such a thriving economic status that it soon attracted a smelting house, where pulverized gold arriving from the province and beyond was processed.⁵³

Rodas continued extending the settlement frontier with eighty Spaniards on foot and horse; he crossed the temperate valley of Aburrá and pursued the Río Porce as far as the lower Nechí. In 1581, he established in this zone the city of Nueva Zaragoza de las Palmas, a few kilometers from the Río Porce, and south of its confluence with the Nechí, from where it was transferred later to its actual site. The lower zones, of warmer climate, were "one of the most rich lands of gold mines that have been seen in these areas."⁵⁴ The provisionment of the new centers, as in previous cases, was supplied by the commercial urban settlement of Mompo, from which it took three days to arrive, and was a few days journey and ten if one wished to return with all the supplies. The mining importance of the city of Zaragoza was such that governor Alarcón selected it for the site of his residence, and people had to travel long distances to reach it.⁵⁵

The territorial expansion of Santa Fé de Antioquia toward the west also was affected by military or strategic

considerations. Thus, the progress of Gaspar de Rodas to the east of Zaragoza was part of his plan to occupy the territories near Cimitarra, with the foundation of a Spanish settlement which would prohibit the escape of the Indians in this region toward the southeast.⁵⁶ A few years later, the governor Bartolomé de Alarcón commissioned Captain Juan Pérez de Garavito, accompanied by twelve soldiers, to penetrate into the province of Guamoco. In this province he found "gold mines of great richness, wealthier than those of Zaragoza,"⁵⁷ which in 1611, in the dense and rainy forest of the high Tigui between the Nechi and Magdalena, laid the economic base for the settlement of San Francisco de la Antigua de Guamoco.

Abundant placer mines were opened on old high level pleistocene gravel terraces which were intensely laboured, as well as vein ores in the high and mountainous zones near the Tigui Valley (Serranía de Santa Lucas) where to this day relics of their work still remain.⁵⁸

The Indians used various methods for exploiting the placers, but the most frequent used was to work the gravels of the river channels, diving with cradles during drought periods and when the water was low. Placer mining in these zones had been of significance since prehispanic times.⁵⁹

During this period the mining landscape of Antioquia was integrated into the cultural landscape of the Europeans, firmly based upon cities that became the centers for the organization of the mining activities. The modifications

to the aboriginal Antioquian landscape mostly affected the lower elevated warmer zones, where the modest cities of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were established, with the formalities and requirements which were required.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, the Antioquian region had a pattern of dispersed rural settlements, formed by extancias, hatos, ranchos, minas or rancherías, reales de minas and the resguardos (or native towns) located around the five urban population centers. Such a pattern of settlements resulted from the distribution of the productive and accessible gold mines which were found in the low and warmer zones of the province.⁶⁰

The Antioquian cities of the 1600's were established close to the Ríos Cauca and Nechí and their branches, seeing that besides being rich in minerals, the water was a fundamental factor not only for the survival of advancing settlement frontier but also for establishing a natural and fundamental means of communication and provisionment for the region of Antioquia. It is of significance to note that in the Antioquian territories, the topographical characteristics in association with climatic conditions were important factors increasing relative isolation.

In pursuit of gold, the blancos and mestizos with encomienda Indians, and gangs of black slaves, crossed rivers and streams, logged trees, opened and prepared trails

until they reached the more remote or elevated placer mines. There they established themselves in temporary ranchos to devote themselves to the digging of whatever mineral deposits they could find. In addition, the new settlers cultivated the adjacent lands, covered them with vegetables, and a wide range of nourishing plants which provided their subsistence.⁶¹

ENDNOTES

1. Vicente Restrepo, Estudio de las Minas de Oro y Plata en Colombia (Bogotá, 1962), p. 63.
2. "Her mountains are crossed by an unmeasurable number of veins and her river basins formed an uninterrupted series of auriferous alluvials." Ibid., p. 27.
3. Francisco Duque Betancourt, Historia del Departamento de Antioquia (Medellín, 1967), p. 157.
4. Uribe Angel, op. cit., (1885), p. 644. He indicates that it is only a repetition altered by the change of accent of "Antioquia Aseática," the city in Syria, which was a bulwark of ancient Christianity.
5. Duque Betancourt, op. cit., has copied textually the two acts of settlement, pp. 168-69.
6. Cieza de León, op. cit., Situated in the city of Antioquia, seven degrees north of the equator. The site of the first settlement seems to have been probably south of the actual settlement of Peque in the proximity of the settlement of Santa Agueda. Fray Simon Pedro, Noticias Historiales de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales, 5 vols. (Bogotá, 1892). Situated in the city at 4 degrees, 15 minutes, 75 seconds (4°, 15", 75'") and 50' in longitude. Duque Betancourt, op. cit., p. 157.
7. "Desde la ciudad hasta el Río Grande (Cauca) habra tres o cuatro leguas . . . va al río aquí muy angosto y muy crecido." Antonio Gomex Campillo, footnoted in Duque Betancourt, op. cit., p. 157.
8. Ibid.
9. Parsons locates it south of Peque, next to a small tributary of the Río Cauca, seven kilometers from the mentioned settlement. Parsons, op. cit., (1950), p. 41.
10. The group of the Norte was frequently called "Cartagine" "Cartagineses" (Cartagena), and the group which came from the south was called "Peruleros" (from Peru).
11. The improvisation in those first settlements clearly remained expressed in the Acta de Fundación: "that if he [Robledo] or the person who he left there and the cabildo of the mentioned city had to be moved to another section where they have a better site and other particularities which are necessary for a town and the townsmen," pp. 155-157.

12. Castellanos, op. cit., (1932), p. 19.
13. We should speak about reconstruction, since it was left very well established in the new Act of Settlement. Duque Betancourt, op. cit., pp. 167-70, 7 Sept., 1542.
14. Ibid.
15. In the confluence of the small tributary called Frontino with the Río Sucio. In the basin of the upper Sucio-Cañasgordas, there is a place which is actually called Naré.
16. Duque Betancourt, op. cit., p. 169.
17. AGI, Justicia, Ramo 2, Leg. 1102, dated 1539.
18. Cieza de León, op. cit., p. 86. The chronicler himself was the owner of an encomienda in the settlement of Los Armados.
19. Robledo, op. cit., (1954), Vol. I, p. 34.
20. Lopez de Velasco maintained that the city was "moved by the anger of the natives who lived in dining rooms of human flesh." Ibid.
21. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 65, dated 1616. This affirms that the placer mines located in the sandy banks and borders of the Río Cauca and her tributaries produced large quantities of small gold nuggets.
22. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Carta de Gaspar de Rodas al Majestad Católica del Rey Don Felipe," dated 20 April, 1583. Captain Robledo first ordered the neighboring settlement of El Cerro to accomplish the exploitation of the surrounding mines.
23. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, dated 16 Sept., 1576. "The governor represents the importance of the said Villa and requests it be incorporated to said government of Antioquia." AHAM, Real Hacienda, Leg. 270, Expte. 2689, Reales Cédulas created by the Provincia de Antioquia.
24. Uribe Angel, op. cit., (1855), p. 248. The Villa of Santa Fe de Antioquia, located in the arid valley of the Río Tonusco, at 700 meters above sea level and 32 kilometers from the famous hill of Buriticá; 5 kilometers from the place where the Tonusco waters flow into the Cauca, was called Castilla de Oro, according to Uribe Angel.

25. Robert West, La minería de aluvión en Colombia durante el partido colonial (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional), pp. 18-24; Restrepo, op. cit., (1952), p. 51.
26. Cieza de León, op. cit., p. 67-8; Restrepo Tirado, "Archivo de Indias," BHA (1925-32), Vol. XV, p- 384.
27. Ibid., p. 67.
28. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, dated 1583.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. The Villa de Victoria was settled on the borders of the Río La Miel, tributary of Samana del Sur, itself an affluent of the Río Magdalena, under the political jurisdiction of the cabildo of the city of Mariquitá.
32. Fray Pedro Simón, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 126. "Territory discovered and disputed by Nuñez Pedroso and Cépeda."
33. José María Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de Nueva Granada, 2 vols. (Bogota, 1953), Vol. II, p. 658.
34. Fray Pedro Simon, op. cit., (1892), Vol. III, p. 215. This locates the city of Victoria between the Río Grande and the Villa de Arma.
35. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 138.
36. AHAM, Vol. 153, Expte. 4090, "Disputa de Tierras y jurisdicción de las ciudades de Arma y Remedios," dated 16 Feb., 1668.
37. Ibid., fol. 214.
38. Castellanos, op. cit., pp. 47-69.
39. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, fols. 3v, 4, "Descripción del viaje de Gaspar de Rodas," dated 19 April 1583.
40. Robledo, op. cit., (1954), p. 24.
41. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Carta del gobernador al Rey sobre la situación de la provincia . . . y situación de las minas," dated June, 1611; AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador informa al Rey . . . solicitud de negros," dated July, 1612; ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, "Visita Oficial que en virtud de Real Cédula, practicará en Santa Fe de Antioquia y Caceres el Oidor Francisco Herrera Campuzano," dated 1614-1615, fols. 386-392. In the year 1615 the city had 336 indios of which 90

were in the tributary category, 10 indios were reservados and 236 remaining Indians among whom were women and children which were reduced in the Loma de Tacu.

42. Fray Pedro Simón, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 215-216; Vol V, p. 83.
43. On "capitulación," one is reminded of the classical work of Silvio Zabala, Las instituciones jurídicas en la conquista de América (Madrid, 1935). Alvaro Jara, Problemas y métodos de la Historia económica hispano-americana (Escuela de Historia, Serie Varia, Vol. III, F.U. and E.U.C.U., Caracas, 1969).
44. Castellanos, op. cit., p. 109
45. Ibid., p. 120.
46. Uribe Angel, op. cit., (1885), p. 287 defines the "Real de Minas" as the location on a private river of a worked aufierous deposit.
47. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Descripción del viaje de Gaspar de Rodas," dated 19 April, 1583.
48. Ibid.
49. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, "Carta del Consejo, Justicia y Regimiento de la Ciudad de Cáceres entre los dos ríos que es de la provincia del Nuevo Reino de Granada," dated 1581.
50. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 71, "Cuentas de los cargos de oro e en polvo de la Casa de Fundación de Cáceres," dated 1581-1583.
51. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Gaspar de Rodas informa al Rey sobre el estado de la Villa de Santa Fe y de la governación," dated April, 1583.
52. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 336, Document on rebuilding of Santa Magdalena de Caceres, 1803; AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 99, Expte. 2527, fol. 151.
53. Ibid.
54. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Carta de Bartolomé de Alarcón," Zaragoza, dated 12 July, 1612.
55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. ANCB, Minas de Antioquia, Vol. 6, fols. 540v-543.
59. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Carta de Bartolomé de Alarcón," Zaragoza, dated 12 July, 1612.
60. Restrepo Tirado, "Archivo de Indias," BHA, (1930), Vol. XVIII, p. 336.
61. Cieza de León, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF SPANISH CONTROL ON THE RURAL
LANDSCAPE OF ANTIOQUIA, 1500-1650Development of the encomienda

In the face of the lack of economic resources by the Spanish throne to undertake an achievement of such magnitude, the enterprise of the discovery and conquest of the American territories was undertaken by means of the mechanism of private entrepreneurs who, in return for their services, were given a variety of types of recompense. The Spanish throne also determined that the best way to protect her interests in the new overseas kingdoms was that private interests created an ever-increasing stimulus for conquest and that they were the real drive in the settlement of the American colonies.¹

The primary gains sought by the conquerors,² which meant sources of wealth, power, and social status in the incipient colonial society, was the procurement of indios. These were obtained by means of encomiendas; lands, on the other hand, were conceded by way of mercedes reales.³

The encomienda,⁴ an institution of pseudo-feudal configuration, had its Castilian origin in the Spanish reconquista. It was an institution transposed to America with the early conquerors who assumed original

responsibilities for civil control.⁵ The *encomienda* appears in the American territory, as a spontaneous response on the part of Columbus, and was later officially approved as a mechanism by the throne.⁶ This institution involved the "commending" of natives from a specific place to individual "encomenderos"; the Indians' tribute, which was in turn converted into wealth, social status, etc., by "la gente decente", or worthy Spaniards who were the owners of encomiendas and slave gangs that were also urban residents. The apportionment of encomiendas was made in the final stage of the settlement act of each city; it was for this reason that the first urban centers played a unique and fundamental role in the modification of the aboriginal settlement, under the general rubric of "protecting and evangelizing the natives."

The undeveloped social structure and somewhat primitive material development of the native Antioqueño groups was not the only cause of the violent character which the conquest took⁷ but was a conditioning factor in the development in the province's mining economy. The encomienda facilitated the virtual enslavement of centers of indigenous population, constraining them within a cruel and unfamiliar system in unhealthy zones rich in mineral resources, far from the ones they had previously inhabited. The native population base was redistributed upon a new, and Spanish, appraisal of resources.

The Villa de Santa Fe de Antioquia served a primary function in the re-distribution of the native population in its district. Simultaneously with the exploration and discovery of the natural conditions of the rural landscape, the captains reduced village after village and regulated the labor force which secured the survival of this urban mining center, and of those who would subsequently settle.

Thus the native labor and specifically that organized within the encomienda system was the support of the Spanish population of the sixteenth century and part of the seventeenth. In addition, it created for the Spanish throne an indirect source of income, for the royal public treasury. It has been established that the encomienda created one of the pillars of the Spanish-American society in its formative stage, composed of a small minority of Spaniards, urban dwellers for the most part and a group of indigenous survivors occupying the neighboring areas.⁸

In Antioquia this institution had as its essential objective the provision of native labor for the prosperous mines; at the same time there was also a need for labor to cultivate corn, manioc, bananas, etc. The Indian encomienda labor, while being inexpensive, was also skilled, an essential feature in the gold production of the first years of Spanish occupation. The Indians of this region were traditionally experienced miners, who brought the methods and rudimentary means of mineral extraction, and a knowledge

of the construction of aqueducts so necessary for its further development.⁹

The indios encomendados were Christianized, which meant that occasionally certain priests (doctrineros) would visit them to perform some baptisms and weddings, without having regular Christian services, which many of them lacked even at their death.¹⁰

By 1610 (Table 1), the population of 386 indios

Table 1. Distribution of the Population of the "Encomiendas" of the District of Antioquia, 1610

<u>Doctrinero</u>	<u>Encomendados</u>	<u>Indios Utiles</u>
Pedro Esquivel	9	186
Juan Dassa	19	165
Lopez de Barra	1	14
Juan-Sanchez Ramirez	3	21
Total	32	386

Source: AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, 1610.

encomendados from the district of the city was distributed among four doctrinas, each with its respective priest.¹¹

Due to the long absence of the religious services, the Indians from "Loma de la Fragua" had to walk thirty-five kilometers to Antioquia to request aid from the priests of the city, to whom they paid a gold peso for

one baptism and four to six pesos for a wedding.¹²

The encomiendas of Antioquia comprised mine Indians, that is those devoted to mineral extraction, and by Indians "de rozas o macana," who were forced to work in the agricultural activities (mostly to cultivate corn), the base of the town's nourishment. The encomienda was initially granted for the lifetime of the encomendero and his children; normally the children applied to extend the grant a further generation to their offspring.¹³ On July 16, 1573, a royal order stipulated that "se pueden encomendar los indios bacos y que bacaren en los distritos de las ciudades de españoles que ya estuvieren poblados, por dos vidas y en los que se poblaron por tres vidas dejando los puertos y cabeceras para nos."¹⁴ In March of 1586, the Royal Audiencia granted the encomenderos of the Villa de Antioquia the privilege to maintain encomiendas for three lives. This grace was granted to the postponement given to the encomenderos of this urban center, because the villa

dío muy señalado y principal favor y ayuda de gente, caballos y armas pero más cumplido les hadado continuamente sócorro en muchas necesidades ordinarias que las dichas ciudades han tenido en movimiento como los naturales que ha habido contra los españoles sus descubridores y pobladores siendo la dicha Villa para todos continuos amparos y refugio han permanecido y llegado al estado que estan de que resulta que muchos naturales se han convertido y convierten en aumento de vuestro real patrimonio en la fundación de las dichas ciudades y su descubrimiento y de otras que adelante se esperan poblar.¹⁵

The encomenderos who, up to that point had resided in the villa, because they had contributed their farm production (frutos de haciendas) for the expenses previously mentioned, obtained that same favor that allowed them to hold their encomiendas for three generations.

According to López de Velasco (1574-1575), the encomenderos from the Villa de Santa Fe de Antioquia were eleven to twelve vecinos and the entire region had from 5,000 to 6,000 Indians.¹⁶ On visiting the villa in 1582, Friar Gerónimo Escobar found that out of the large number of indios encomendados, only 800 remained, mostly slaves who used to dig the gold from Buriticá.¹⁷ At about this same time, Francisco Guillén Chaparro described the Villa de Antioquia as containing twelve vecinos with 1500 indios de encomienda, 300 negro slaves and 200 lower class white Spaniards.¹⁸ In the request addressed to the cabildo by the Procurador General of Antioquia in September 1585, it was recorded that to fourteen vecinos encomenderos had been distributed 200 indios, "who will not have caciques nor senores like those of the Kingdom of Santa Fe [de Bogotá], nor have to give nor pay tribute as do the other courts of these kingdoms, other than cultivating the usual fields with which the encomenderos sustain themselves and from which their slaves dig gold."¹⁹

It is understandable, on the basis of the relevant facts, how the encomienda became an important support in

the mining cities "parasitismo," which subjected the encomienda population to the production of the necessary resources for their support.

The possession of encomiendas gave the owners, who for the major part were urban residents, obligations of moral and tutelary order, among them the protection and Christian indoctrination of the rural population and, on the other hand, obligations on behalf of the throne such as the permanent responsibility of military defense or aid to the city and the province. Each expenditure to support and extend the frontiers of the Spanish political jurisdiction involved the granting of new encomiendas de indios to the worthy vecinos in the new urban centers which were settled. After the settlement of the city of Cáceres, Gaspar de Rodas made the distribution and encomienda of the indios surviving among the 60 vecinos and commented "that I write that they now live or rather subsist without any other recourse than the Indians."²⁰

The indios encomendados were immediately forced to carry out an intensive exploration for old mines by way of mountain and river courses. The Indians were said to have been most "desir[ous] and spirited to carry out gold exploring since the load is rich."²¹

By 1581, the dispersed encomiendas in the rural areas of the urban centers were limited,²² as the vecinos of Cáceres were pleased with the "short encomiendas which

encouraged and favored them."²³ In Guillén Chaparro's report it is noted that the city was a land of few natives and that there were some 150 negros extracting gold,²⁴ panning and discovering more mines in the eastern area. After the founding of the city of Nueva Zaragoza de Las Palmas, the Lieutenant Governor, Rodas, proceeded to distribute a small number of Indians, whose destination was to work as slaves in the richest gold mines which had been seen in the province, "entre los dos ríos," up to its total exhaustion and destruction.²⁵ The encomiendas and native population were rapidly reduced in numbers; in 1608 in Santa Fe de Antioquia the encomienda population was only some 500 useful indios; the city of Cáceres had 250 tributaries, and for Zaragoza the figures of native populations are not known.²⁶ Two years later, the encomiendas in the Villa de Santa Fe de Antioquia included only six, 12, and 13 Indians who the following year were reduced even further in number.

The Antioquia cities suffered the effects of the diminution of the Indians since it was their tribute that supported the encomenderos and the population which worked in the mines. The lack of Indian labor brought about the "reduction" of the mines and the decrease of the rich mineral harvest, which at the same time also triggered off a rise in corn price and other articles of daily use. This problem resulted in the desolate aspect which most of the

mining cities portrayed in the early seventeenth century; the worthy encomenderos and slave gang overseers lived in such misery that they did not have the wherewithall to pay the priest's fee and were forced to abandon the city during a great part of the year.²⁷

In the report which accompanied the census of the indios encomendados in the city of Antioquia for 1610, 386 "useful" or tribute indios existed distributed within the rural area and extending as far as 65 kilometers from the city.²⁸ From those, only 21 belonging to three encomiendas worked in the mines of Buriticá and in the placers of Río Grande or Cauca.²⁹ The spatial division of the encomiendas was uneven and its distribution helped the vecinos of the Villa de Santa Fé de Antioquia, upon which focused a large portion of the encomienda population in the rural area of its jurisdiction, which extended up to the valley of Aburrá and the valley of Ríonegro, part of the lands of particular individuals and the town's ejido.³⁰

Consequent upon this critical situation, the Royal Treasury also experienced a decrease in the improperly called "Fifth" (Quinto).³¹ The revenues from this tax were utilized to pay the principal administrative authorities of the cities, and the surplus, which belonged entirely to the king, was sent to Spain. The deterioration of conditions reached such proportions that the building of irrigation ditches, canoes, and mine tailings, especially

those of the hill of Buriticá, were abandoned.³² Although the encomiendas of Remedios and Armas were not included within the political jurisdiction of the province of Antioquia during this first stage, it is important to emphasize the following information: the city of Nuestra Señora de Remedios had, around 1574, approximately 15 encomenderos, half of the vecinos who lived there, and a large number of natives, according to López de Velazco.³³ Some 9000 Indians were allocated to 43 encomiendas within a radius of ten kilometers of the city.³⁴

The chronicler Cieza de León was one of the first encomenderos of the densely populated Indian village of Arma.³⁵ López de Velazco stated that there were not more than 15 Spaniards and 1000 natives in that city,³⁶ and Fray Gerónimo de Escobar reported that in 1582 only 19 vecinos had just over 500 indios.³⁷ All speak of a rapid reduction of aboriginal population.

In 1612, the governor Bartolomé de Alarcón, successor to Rodas, reported on the general state of the Provincia and its encomiendas. The city of Antioquia had 17 encomenderos who owned 450 Indians (see Table 2).³⁸

The vecinos encomenderos of the capital city were not wealthy; some of them were owners of encomiendas so small that they only had two indios.³⁹ Cáceres had ten vecinos encomenderos with 250 natives, Zaragoza had no indios. The Villa de San Gerónimo had by that time eight

Table 2. Population of Antioquia Province, 1612

<u>CITY</u>	<u>ENCOMENDEROS</u>	<u>INDIOS (ENCOMENDADOS)</u>	<u>NEGROS E INDIOS (JORNALEROS)</u>
C. ANTIOQUIA	17	450	200 (negros)
CACERES	10	250	300 (40 indios)
SAN GERONIMO	8	110	100 (negros)
ZARAGOZA	0	0	2000 (negros)
GUAMOCO	8	178	150 (negros)
BARRANCA B.	0	0	100 (negros)
TOTAL	43	988	2850

Source: AGI, Santa F , Legajo 51, 12 July, 1612.

encomenderos among whom were distributed 110 indios and the recently settled San Francisco de Guamoco had reduced 178 indios between men and women,⁴⁰ who had to plant and pick the corn crop, the main food supply of the new settlement, which included more than 100 slaves. In 1614 the Oidor of the Real Audiencia of Santa Fe de Bogot , Francisco de Herrera Campuzano, was commissioned by the Audiencia to visit the naturales of Antioquia, and, according to the results of his visita, the total of "indios utiles" was less than 900, distributed among the vecino encomenderos and masters of troops of the urban centers of the province. The total of the Indian population was 3179 (Table 3) comprising children, old males and female adults; 865 were indios de mina o de macana (that is to say available labor hands); 138 were old males and 2176 women and minors. This

Table 3. Indian Population of Antioquia Province, 1614-1615

<u>CITY</u>	<u>ENCOMENDEROS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>INDIOS UTILES</u>	<u>RESERVADOS</u>	<u>MUJERES E HIJOS</u>
Antioquia	19	1576	409	85	1082
Cáceres	18	1137	341	43	753
San Gerónimo	8	336	90	10	236
Guamoco	8	130	25	0	105
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>3179</u>	<u>865</u>	<u>138</u>	<u>2176</u>

Source: ANBC; Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. 3, fol 74v;
Gobierno, Vol. 37, fols. 386-392.

dispersed rural population was distributed among 53 worthy Spanish encomenderos, residents of four urban foundations.

The encomiendas of Antioquia were distributed unevenly amongst the vecinos, and it was the founders and the first authorities who possessed the majority. By 1614, the city of Antioquia had 19 encomenderos with 409 tributaries, 85 "reservados" and 1082 women and children.

Cáceres at that date had 17 encomenderos with 341 useful indios with 1740 persons among women and children (Table 4). As can be seen in Table 5, San Gerónimo del Monte had 90 tributaries distributed in 80 encomenderos and, finally, San Francisco La Antigua de Guamoco had 72 tributaries.⁴¹ This figure includes useful men and women, divided among 8 encomenderos. The encomiendas of this last urban center were at a distance of up to 16 leagues (80 kilometers) from the city. That of Captain Francisco del

Table 4. Encomiendas of Caceres, 1614

ENCOMIENDA	ENCOMENDERO	ACTIVIDAD		
		INDIOS UTILES	RESERVADOS	MUJERES E HIJOS
TOTAL	17	341	38	740
SEBANETA, TANBINA, TAQUIBURII, ACABRU Y GUACATA	VALDES MELENDEZ	56	2	130
GOMERA	JUAN FERNANDEZ DE ERASO	20	0	29
QUIRQUINCI	MARIA DE HERRERA	9	1	31
ARATE	ALONSO RODRIGUEZ V.	10	1	18
LA MOSCA	LUCAS DE BETANCOURT	16	1	30
QUIRQUINA (Quirquiní)	JOAN PINTO	13	1	19
OMAGA	LUIS RAMIREZ ORTIZ	7	0	12
ORMANA	Fco. DE HEREDIA	12	2	30
SOAMA	Fco. DE HEREDIA	11	1	30
QUINABO	PAULO FERNANDEZ DE LAS ERAS	20	1	27
URIBU (Oribu)	PAULO FERNANDEZ DE LAS ERAS	11	2	35
TACU	MARTIN DURAN	17	6	42
CARIME	ESTEBAN DE RIBERA	27	4	45
URRI	ALFERES LUIS SO- TOMAYOR	14	6	23
NOABA	MANCIA DE VARGAS	14	1	33
CACAMI	CATALINA DE FER- NANDEZ	4	1	1
QUERQUIA (Valle Sn. A.)	PEDRO DE CAÑIZALES	11	0	36
SAN ANDRES (Anbrú y Guacatapés)	ALONSO DE RODAS	28	2	60
CIRITAVE	ALONSO DE RODAS	14	0	49
VALLE DE Sn. ANDRES	PEDRO DE CARVAJAL	27	6	60

Source: ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. 1, fols. 74-74v;
Vol. 3, fol. 37; Gobierno, Vol. 1, fols. 386-392.

Table 5. Indian population of San Geronimo
del Monte, 1614-1615

<u>ENCOMIENDA</u>	<u>ENCOMENDERO</u>	<u>INDIOS UTILES</u>
Quirana o Quiruana	Alonso de Rodas	17
Icuanza	Sebastian Bolivar	7
Motocoos	Andres Valdivia	8
Tagamies y Ocitimies	Francisco Diaz Jara	12
Totama	Pedro Pablo Sarmiento	8
Ure	Gaspar de Rodas	21
Aracabal y Taquemari	Lorenzo	13
Ure	Diego Rivas	4
<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>90</u>

Source: ANBC; Gobierno, Vol. I, fol. 6386:392.

Corral Esquivel, lieutenant governor, and mayor of the town, had eight people in it, situated one kilometer from the city; while that of Julio Encio, encomendero of Guamoco and vecino of Zaragoza, had 21 indios and, with that of the governor of the province, were around 30 kilometers from Guamoco. It is interesting to note that from the distribution of indios in encomiendas of this last city, one can note a reduction of 44 within three years of existence. Also, it should be noted that this does not include the encomienda of Captain Pedro de la Torre, who transferred another zone at the margins of Zaragoza territory.

The monopolization of encomiendas by the most worthy vecinos of the military founders and first settlers of the main city of the region can be exemplified by reference to

Alonso de Rodas, who, being the son of the principal and first political authority of the province, inherited from his father the encomiendas that he had enjoyed during his life: in the region of Peques and Bejicos (Ebejicos) he had one encomienda of 70 tributary Indians; in the Aburrá valley he had the repartimientos of Aburrá and Amezies (Amezies), with 40 useful indios of macana and 14 or 15 Guaracues and Quinques indios, who were in the boundaries of the city of Antioquia; in the city of Cáceres he had 25 indios tributaries of the San Andrés Valley and 14 from the repartimiento de Ciritave. In the Villa de San Gerónimo del Monte he controlled the repartimiento of the mountain zone with 25 useful indios (Table 6).

Table 6. Encomiendas of Gaspar de Rodas, 1614-1615

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>ENCOMIENDAS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>INDIOS UTILES</u>	<u>MUJERES E HIJOS</u>
City of Antioquia	Peques y Bejicos	370	70	300
Antioquia	Aburrá y Amezies	170	40	130
Antioquia	Quimques y Guaracues	54 a 55	14 a 15	40
Cáceres	Anbrú y Guacatapés (Valle de San Andrés)	88 a 98	28	60 a 70
Villa San Gerónimo del Monte	Repartimiento de La Montaña	85 a 95	25	60 a 70
Cáceres	Ciritave	63	14	49
TOTAL		793	143	650

Source: ANBC, *Visitas de Antioquia*, Vol. I, fol. 74-74v; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, fol. 37; *Ibid.*, *Gobierno*, Vol. I, fols. 386/392.

The vecinos encomenderos, belonging to the highest stratum of the society of these cities, did not participate directly in the cruel system of work and the inhuman life their Indian charges led. In order to acquire the desired riches in the shortest time possible, their overseers made sure that the Indians were virtually worked to death. The wealth so generated was transformed into political influence and provided a suitably comfortable life in those modest mining cities.

The extensive documentation resulting from the visita of Herrera Campuzano allows us to comment on some extremely interesting facts relating to the work which the natives on encomiendas had to accomplish and of those who depended not only on the encomenderos but the cities themselves. The indios encomenderos were brought from their repartimientos to be used in domestic services of the houses of their encomenderos, or as muleteers and herdsmen in their hatos and farms. In order to take the tribute to the city they moved from great distances, which meant several days of travel in rough and bad roads, crossing rivers and plains, generally on foot more rarely by mules provided by the encomendero. The Antioquia Indians, in addition to paying tribute with gold pesos, provided "la nobleza" of the cities with ground corn, the fruits of the harvest from the extensive assarts in the thick woods of the river margins, transporting in palm baskets (cataures)⁴² in addition to

manioc, plantain, kidney beans, and other products which they cultivated in the fields.

Manioc "cazaba", chickens, smoked fish, fish flour, woolen blankets, honey, and sugar, obtained by grinding sugar cane in the grinding machines⁴³ all were paid as tribute. In return for his tribute the indio received one almud⁴⁴ of corn each week or several whiplashes when he did not satisfy his ambicioso encomendero.⁴⁵

Both the indio encomendado of macana and de mina ran the same risk; many of the latter were taken under the threat of whipping to the placers of the Río Cauca, whether it be at Pedreras 40 kilometers from Cáceres or to the different mines established in the Río Nechi and its streams, where they made "el jornal" (the day work) of 5, 4 and 3 gold pesos weekly for the worthy master encomendados. This, despite the fact that forced Indian labor had already been legally forbidden a few years before the orders (ordinances) of 1570 were proclaimed.⁴⁶ As an example, one can cite the distribution of Ciritavé, in the boundaries of the city of Cáceres, pertaining to Alonso de Rodas, against whom many charges were made in the files collected on the visita, set down from Indian witnesses. The indios encomendados of Alonso de Rodas walked several leagues up to the hot summer season placers, established in the Cauca, carrying corn on their shoulders for the nourishment of the of the mining people;⁴⁷ and from the swidden plots (rozas)

they had to take thrashed corn to the mine of the encomendero in the surroundings of San Gerónimo del Monte, where they would arrive after six days of walking. The mining indios were used for making trenches, for excavating and digging gold in the mines, which they could not leave until they had satisfied the "minero", who whipped them, complying with the commands of the encomendero's gang master. Finally these unhappy field workers had to log cedar trees in order to supply their masters, make pans for washing gold, and canoes for transportation and other necessities.

In conclusion, it can be said that the encomienda was the institution which guaranteed the development of the Antioquian city and was the most important factor which brought about the social disintegration of the rural Indian settlement.

The encomienda, in origin a counter-measure to the supposed prohibition of enslavement of Indians, established and legalized the economic inter-dependence of city and region. Thanks to the encomienda, the Spaniard was able to profit by domestic service, the provision of agricultural products, and mineral resources to acquire other goods for consumption, all of which allowed him to flaunt the right to reside in the city and to belong to a privileged urban elite. In this manner, Santa Fe de Antioquia, city of encomenderos and señores de cuadrillas, survived; its riches, the number of encomienda Indians, the size of its gangs of

black slaves and its contribution of quintos to the throne, constituted the basic reasons for its existence and its importance in the two first centuries of colonial life.

The characteristics of Reales de Minas

Those mining establishments which were established in a mining zone, and composed of black slaves who formed part of one or several gangs, (with the exception of few Indians) were called in colonial Antioquia Reales de Minas, Minas, Ranchos or Rancherías. With regards to these denominations that were given to these placer camps in Antioquia during the first period of gold mining development, it is necessary to point out the difference which existed among the reales de minas, minas, ranchos and rancherías. The origin of the real de minas resulted from an intentional act of Bartolomé de Alarcón, when the province sent a few encomenderos with slaves to settle a real de minas in a place named Antioquia La Vieja, a place rich in gold of very good grade and situated 40 kilometers⁴⁸ from the Villa de Antioquia. Another real de minas existed by 1581 on the banks of the Cauca and within the jurisdictional limits of the city of Cáceres, known as Pesquerías according to its founder, of "gran y extensa riqueza".⁴⁹ It probably originated from Quarternary-age alluvial deposits.⁵⁰ Bartolomé Alarcón also established a real de minas on the banks of the lower Cauca and in the jurisdiction of the city of Cáceres in the place called Barrancas Bermejas where there were 100 black

slaves which obtained one to two pesos' worth of gold daily by 1612.⁵¹ The provisionment of the last two mentioned mining camps was made by canoes which came down the Cauca in search of resources and, as in the other, mining establishments, from the provisionments of corn obtained as tribute by the encomenderos.

The reales de minas, as centers of rich gold deposits and in counting with a large enough labor force, had a more permanent existence in the search for gold. The ranchos, rancherías, and minas were located along the banks of the Cauca, Nechi, Porce, and their tributaries; there their settlers worked arduously, under the order of an overseer, excavating the minerals of the high strand line deposits, dry banks of sand, and mines, called by Friar Pedro Simón botaderos or embestideros, which they quickly abandoned when the mineral deposit was exhausted.⁵²

These mining settlements of Antioquia had no planned form and consisted of mere collections of huts (bohíos) which the Indians made with cañas guaduas,⁵³ wood timbers, palm, or palmiza.

The area covered by a mining camp included the land for swidden cultivation and seed beds, destined to the cultivation of corn, a staple element in the diet of the work gangs. The encomenderos of Antioquia had Indians and several negros de roza, who, under the vigilance of the farm overseers, were engaged in the cultivation of corn, manioc, planting sugar

cane, both in their habitations as in their barbacoas, in the meadows of the rivers or in the islands.⁵⁴ The farms, some of them including small grinding mills (trapiches), were located several leagues from the mines, to which the Indians had to take the products. The transfer of the mining camps from one aluvión to another necessarily involved the mobilization of the entire labor force, and, in some instances, meant transfers over long distances. The captain Pedro de la Torre, encomendero of the city of San Francisco de Guamoco, moved his encomienda to a place called La Porquera on the road which led to the city of Remedios, and another to the place of Cancan from the city of Zaragoza, in whose jurisdiction it still fell. In this place he established an estancia and several gold mines.⁵⁵

Other mining placer camps frequently mentioned during the same period were those of Amanceri and San Agustin. Evidence of the intense mining activity accomplished in the placer field camps established in the government of Antioquia and some of the neighboring regions is to be found in information collected in 1581 by the royal officials of the city of San Martín de Cáceres. The pulverized gold which came from the jurisdiction of the city of Cáceres was from the mines of the Río Grande del Cauca, from those of San Anton, from those of the paramo of the San Andres Valley, those from Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, and also from guacas of the region.⁵⁶

The amount of gold originating outside the province of Antioquia corresponded to the Villa de Santa Fé de Antioquia and Arma, falling within the political jurisdiction of Popayán and to the city of Nuestra Señora de Remedios, of the jurisdiction of Santa Fe de Bogotá.

The population of the mining establishments of Antioquia was noticeably reduced from the beginning of the seventeenth century in such a way that "whereas there were more or less 20 youths working in the mines . . . by Herrera Campuzano's visit [1615] there were only five Indians."⁵⁷ By 1615, an encomendero in the mine of Pesquerías had only five Indians, among them the young and old together with three or four negros digging gold.⁵⁸

By 1611, the city of Cáceres had in her boundaries 300 working men mining gold, of which only 40 were Indians. The city of Zaragoza, then the residence of the governor Alarcón, had in its jurisdiction 2000 black slaves distributed in the rural mining placer settlements, along the Río Nechi and its numerous tributaries. The intensive mining exploitation had a dominant east-west pattern, ending with the settlement of the city of San Francisco de Guamoco and with the consequent expansion of the mining activity in the remainder of the area within its boundaries. In 1613, there were 300 negros established in the mines within the Antioquia district from which was obtained the substantial sum of 50,200 pesos of gold in only one year.⁵⁹

In the second decade of the seventeenth century, the working mines of the government of Antioquia were those situated within the jurisdiction of Antioquia, Cáceres, Zaragoza, the Villa de San Geronimo del Monte, San Francisco la Antigua de Guamoco, and the real de minas of Barrancas Bermejas.⁶⁰ All these mines were still rich in gold and so profitable that it meant that the owners could derive a net profit usually greater than three times their investment. The official measure of gold was 20 carats, that of the mines of Zaragoza was usually 23 carats, thus very, very fine.⁶¹

The general decay of the mining fields paralleled the progressive diminution of the labor force. By 1614, although gold mining was still significant, the population of the mining camps of Zaragoza, Cáceres, the Villa de San Gerónimo and of the city of Antioquia, only totalled some 3500 negro slaves, a figure which a few years before had been exceeded by the city of Zaragoza de las Palmas alone.⁶² The population of mine Indians in these same centers was so insignificant that no reference is to be found to them in the documents.

The negro slaves appeared in Antioquia in small numbers with the first conquerors,⁶³ but as the reduction in Indian population in some zones continued, the introduction of black slaves, who replaced the Indians in the mining works and even in agriculture, increased. The slave gang

constituted an important factor of the mining economy from the end of the sixteenth century until the middle of the eighteenth century. Their replacement value, in terms of human labor, played a vital role in the support of the mining economy during the boom years of gold production in the Antioquia region. One of the key problems in this changing basis of the labor force was the fact that since the negros had previously been engaged in food production, with their withdrawal into the mining sector food supplies began to diminish rapidly, and prices began to rise.⁶⁴ For this reason, with the reduction of the agricultural labor force negro slaves were not being nourished. The situation in the mining camps of the northern part of the central Andean range of mountains, in Antioquia province, worsened after 1590 with the revolt of negros in Zaragoza, who seized hold of the richest lands of the zone, hindering the mining work. These rebellious negros terrorized the cities of Zaragoza, Cáceres, and the Villa de San Gerónimo for a period and they effectively blocked the routes out along the Ríos Cauca and Nechi from where these cities and mines "nourished themselves and supplied [themselves] with the necessities."⁶⁵ The blacks later escaped to hide in places known as "palenques".⁶⁶

The visita report by Herrera Campuzano introduced into Antioquia territory a new form of settlement designed to group the few aboriginal Indians remaining into restricted

and especially designated tracts of land in which communal and collective agricultural enterprise could supposedly flourish under the authority of a specially appointed Corregidor.⁶⁷

The reasons which lay behind the resguardos in Antioquia, a social and organization mode unique in Spanish America, were to guarantee the continued existence of the scarce Indian population which inhabited the zones adjacent to the cities, and to establish and regulate a new indio-encomendero linkage through rigorously controlled agreements involving the hiring of Indian labor. Nevertheless, the Indians still had to fulfill all the encomienda tribute payments and thus it might be argued that the resguardo was a measure designed to support a weakening encomienda system, rather than a novel system of social support for native culture.

With the establishment of the resguardos, the officials were supposed to try to safeguard the Indians from the worst excesses of Spanish forced labor, the same rights and privileges being given to them as to mestizos and negros.⁶⁸ But what it actually allowed was the procurement of a secure and often increased tribute, aside from giving the Spaniards easy access to title claims of the lands from which the Indians were removed. This often meant the removal of Indians over relatively long distances, and played an important role in further destroying aboriginal culture. The

decrease of the Indian population of the encomiendas in Antioquia meant that the resguardos were formed with groups of families from different regions and it further meant that those living together were owned by different encomenderos. The small groups of Indians dispersed within the boundaries of the city of Antioquia were concentrated into four new settlements under its jurisdiction.

In the Aburrá valley (Valle de Medellín), the population of San Lorenzo de Aburrá was established, in the place where the Governor Don Bartolomé Alarcón had a cattle ranch of three square leagues of land. There, a total population of not greater than 500 Indians (among them 80 "indios útiles")⁶⁹ belonging to the distributions of the Aburrá and Amicies (Yamicies) Valley, and the encomienda Indians from the regions of Peque and Bejico (Vexico), who lived 14 leagues from the city of Antioquia, were settled. The township of these Indians was situated on the other bank of the Río Aburrá, where they marked out boundaries to the resguardo that would be "sufficient for their wood clearance, plowing, and planting for individuals and the community, as well as for private pastures and baldíos and breeding of livestock that they had and were to have."⁷⁰

The distance which separated the Indian groups (parcialidades) of the Peques and Béjicos in the peripheral zone of the capital city, and the danger which the nearness of the Guacucos and Urabae Indians implied, since they were in constant war⁷¹ resulted in these groups being

shifted. Their removal had to be done using chains to bind them, their hut villages were destroyed by fire and extensive areas of woodland were built over in order to prevent them from returning to their former homelands. The Antioquian Indians struggled against the forced abandonment of their places and ways of life.

The location of San Lorenzo de Aburrá was extremely important, if we take into consideration the excellence of the climate of this wide valley, the fertility of the soil and above all, noting that by that time several herds of cattle and rural habitations of the townsmen from the city of Antioquia had already been established. The Aburrá Valley had been an early-established center for food production, mostly livestock products, for the mining camps of Antioquia, Zaragoza and Guamoco, in the province of Antioquia, and to Nuestra Señora de Remedios in the district of Santa Fe de Antioquia. The cattle which was traded to those urban centers, and which was fattened in the Aburrá Valley, came from Buga, Pasto, Arma, Cali, Popayán, and from several other cities of this province.⁷² Thus, it was understandable that an alderman from the city of Santiago de Arma in 1584 solicited a homestead in the place where his father-in-law, on taking more than 500 cattle through the plains of Aburrá to the city of Remedios, had lost more than 100 cattle, eight years before.⁷³ After Herrera Campuzano founded San Lorenzo and appointed the parish priest (doctrinero) he commissioned

him to administer the sacraments to any and all of the individuals who lived in the valley of Ríonegro and in Marinilla.⁷⁴

Another town, San Antonio de Buriticá, was established on the hill and near the real de minas of Buriticá, within the boundaries of the city of Antioquia again with the purpose of safeguarding the remainder of the natives who remained there. This new population center again insured labor for the mines of the surrounding district, increased the royal fifth tax revenues and revitalized the city of Antioquia. The advantages of "reducing" the indigenous population of the town of San Antonio de Buriticá was evident before the violent diminution of indios and the lack of negro slaves in this place.

The town of Nuestra Señora de Sopetrán (Table 7) was established in the Hato Viejo de Doña Maria Quesada, where she and other residents of the city of Antioquia had extensive herds of feral cattle. That of San Juan de la Cuesta, later San Gerónimo,⁷⁵ was formed with Indians from five encomiendas. These two towns had total populations of 249 tributary Indians.

The resguardo of Sabanalarga formed by Indians from the districts of Nutabaes and Ciritaves, was situated at a distance of two days travel from the city of Antioquia, by the route known as Espíritu Santo and through which passed the major part of commerce with Spain.⁷⁶ The location of Sabana-

Table 7. Population of the Resguardos of Sopetran and San Gerónimo.

	<u>ENCOMENDERO</u>	<u>INDIOS UTILES</u>
SOPETRAN	Juan Cortés	19
	Matheo Burgos	18
	Francisco de Gúzman	12
	Diego de Machado	1
	Diego Ruíz de la Camarca	8
	Andres de Bolívar	5
	Ana Gómez	2
	Gazpar Gómez	2
	TOTAL	67
SAN GERONIMO	Bartolomé Rua	11
	Manuel López	8
	Juan Taborda	14
	Juan Jaramillo	8
	Francisco Mendez de Sotomayor	7
	TOTAL	48
TOTAL		115

Source: ANBC; Miscelanea, vol. 113, fols. 9-30.

larga was considered convenient because it offered relief to the travelers who used that route and to those who came and went from Antioquia to Cáceres.⁷⁷

Herrera Campuzano ordered that the Indians of the city of Cáceres be reduced in the San Andrés Valley and in two places near that city "in safe and known places for the conservation of the said Indians and in places fertile and of good waters and air."⁷⁸ The reservation of Santiago de Arate was formed with contributions from seven encomenderos which distributed 131 Indians who could work among a total

population of 258 persons, including women, children, and old men.⁷⁹

San Sebastián de Ormans⁸⁰ was formed with Indians from nine encomiendas belonging to seven encomenderos, composed of 130 tributary Indians, and 293 non-tribute paying Indians. Neither of the last two resguardos endured since they proved to be too close to the towns, and available for too many uses.

The establishment of the resguardo certainly caused protests by the townsfolk, who perceived them as serious impediments in the appropriation of ever-increasing amounts of agricultural land, and restrictive in so far as they inhibited the excessive use of physical force and brutality. The procurador of the city of Cáceres argued that, for the well-being of the townsmen and the conservation of the city, the indios be not moved from the places where they were already working on encomiendas, justifying those demands with the evidence that the rozas de maíz were ready for harvesting and that the city of Cáceres did not have any other means of obtaining corn to cover its needs⁸¹ and that of those who worked in the mines. This effectively meant that the native labor required by the townsmen would have to be paid for. The same person of the city of Cáceres presented another demand in reference to the Indians of Pedro Carvajal, who had been established five kilometers from that city for at least 20 years, and who had assisted with their harvest during a famine suffered by that city,

saving them from poverty and death. On that occasion, the townsmen from the city demonstrated their fear that they would have to abandon Cáceres should the Indians withdraw from their lands and, at the same time, they noted that they would have died if the Indians had not agreed to work in the mines, which had lain completely abandoned when the Oidor had visited the area in 1614.⁸²

Herrera Campuzano ordered the establishment of a resguardo in the San Andrés Valley considering it a safe place of fertile lands and it was suitably located at the mid-point of the road to Antioquia. That new township would offer the travelers from the city some shelter and comfort⁸³ and constituted a place from which one could obtain cattle. This reservation originally entailed four groups composed of 80 tributary Indians. Another reduction was established with the Indians of the Villa de San Gerónimo in the place of the "Loma de tacu," named San Francisco de Tacu, located near the Villa de San Geronimo del Monte, where they were allocated lands and security for fields, works, and cattle raising.⁸⁴

The selection of the site and size of the resguardos was made with certain precautions and great care, as "debió ser el más cumplido que se pudiese y sano y haciéndose que se pueda entrar en pie y a caballo de buenas aguas y fértil para sus rozas y sementeras de manera que para hacerlas no tengan necesidad de alejarse y que sea el suelo y sitio

conforme a la cantidad de gente y número que se han de juntar conforme a la calidad y disposición."⁸⁵

The ordenanzas for the good government of the natives of Antioquia proclaimed by Herrera Campuzano had as its objective the termination of the grievances suffered by the unhappy rural residents; these ill feelings not only stemmed from the actions of the city inhabitants, but by the authorities themselves. It was determined that in each one of the settlements there be appointed on the first day of each year two officers from among the most capable Indians, who would be permitted to carry the baton of judicial authority, and who would be able to direct the cultivation of the agricultural plots.⁸⁶ It was also stipulated that a large communal plot be prepared under the direction of the corregidor,⁸⁷ the benefit from which would accrue to the collective. Encomenderos were prohibited, among other things, from taking Indians to the mines, moving them to different climates, making them carry things on their shoulders and whipping them. They established the salaries that should be paid for their services as domestics and as farm laborers, and working hours were determined.⁸⁸

As for the design and construction of the new Indian settlements they were to be made in such a way that the square should be in the center of the village "well proportioned and from which would radiate all the streets, with all the plots according to the quantity of people." That

there be lots of 20 square varas⁸⁹ for residential enclosures and that the entire population were to construct the church in a block off the square. The Indians were also to be distributed within the village, by repartimiento groups in each barrio section, placing them ten at a time or five at a time to make "casas" or typical huts. It was also stipulated that each Indian should have his hut with his own family, near his neighbors, who came from the same original area, independent of whether they belonged to different encomenderos.⁹⁰ The resguardo also included uncultivated lands, commons, and pastures for raising cattle. In 1630, a dispatch of the Viceroy de la Nueva Granada to the governor of Antioquia reveals the miserable state of the resguardos of Sopetrán and San Gerónimo and requests that they be amalgamated in order to pay the costs of a parish priest. Of the 450 Indians who Herrera Campuzano originally congregated in both villages, as can be seen in Table 7, less than 120 were left.⁹¹ From the 80 reduced Indians in San Lorenzo de Aburrá no more than ten or 12 were left by 1639, a reason why the descendents of encomenderos argued that they should be allowed to solicit farms in the areas formerly protected as resguardos.

Among the many causes which brought about the diminution of the Indian population, and consequently the deterioration of the resguardos, are first the plagues and epidemics which attacked this undernourished group of rural inhabitants.

For example, much of the population suffered violent side pains⁹² which they had during the entire year; many others suffered from other ailments⁹³ and garrotillo affected almost all the children.⁹⁴ In addition, the excessive work to which they were submitted as hired laborers for making clearings in woodland and other works on farms was the cause of them not only abandoning their families, but of spreading sicknesses and death in different areas. The Indians who were able to return to their reserve had great difficulty in making their rozas and plantations of crops with which they could pay their annual tribute. Another cause was the effect of using the Indians in the continuous wars waged against hostile groups and in extremely arduous manual tasks.⁹⁵

At the same time, the resguardos were also affected by the ambitions of land ownership, not only of the descendants of the first encomenderos, but of the culturally poor Spaniards and even of mestizos. In his report on the state of the Indians of the town of San Lorenzo de Aburrá, within the jurisdiction of the city of Antioquia, the government agent noted that he was informed that to "have encomenderos and other settlers close to the said town on such small plots made it impossible for the rozas to be made and tribute levied."⁹⁶ Given the miserable state into which the resguardos had fallen, it was requested that their residents not pay tribute in any form of gold but that they only be asked to make rozas of corn for their encomenderos, making

"repartición a cada uno conforme tuviere la encomienda y que el dicho encomendero pagué al doctrinero que de esta manera se reservan del gran tributo de los alquileres."⁹⁷

These tasks drained them physically because those who rented them were not their own encomenderos and they were forced to work without any recompense and without other purpose than for their hirer's advantage.⁹⁸ It is necessary to add that Indians rented out were not only given to the Spaniards but also to mestizos, mulatos and even to negros, for the miserable pay of one tomín a day.⁹⁹

The Spanish authorities carefully considered the advantage that the establishment of the resguardos in the chosen places offered the Antioquian cities, and although the policy contradicted the strict segregational characteristics of the sixteenth century ordenanzas,¹⁰⁰ it did not prevent the socio-economic interests of the cities maintaining their control over the Indians,¹⁰¹ nor did it prevent the continuance of abuses, nor did it persuade the town residents from doing all in their power to wrest land from the resguardos for their own use.

Thus it may be argued that the intention on the part of the authorities of developing this type of agricultural village in Antioquia for a specific racial group, in order to safeguard the rest of the aborigines who inhabited the areas near the city, was subject from the very beginning to internal and external pressures applied by the urban inhabi-

tants, and essentially aborted the original purpose of this form of settlement.

The Indian villages of Antioquia acquired a peculiar significance due to the predominance of mining activities, the absence of an important regional agricultural economy, and the topographical and climatic conditions of the zone.

The Barrio de Santa Lucía

In his visit of 1614-1615 Herrera Campuzano encountered a population of 58 Indian anaconas, "foreigners" from other provinces, distributed in a dispersed form on the outskirts of the city of Antioquia. At that time, these "forasteros" worked in cattle ranches and fields belonging to the townsmen of Antioquia, located on the periphery of the city. The origins of those Indians was unknown, for when they were questioned on the subject they said that they did not know their origin and that their mothers came long ago from provinces far away.¹⁰² Some of them had come when they were small and had been in the province for ten to 40 years; others had been born of fathers or mothers from the outer limits of the Antioquia region and were unfamiliar not only with their original repartimiento, but also the name of the representative of their first anacona. Up to the date of Herrera's visit these Indians had not paid any tribute to any encomendero, but they did make payments to the officials of the Royal Treasury of the city of Antioquia--one peso per annum. The ordinances on Indian affairs that Herrera promul-

gated after his visita ordered that the anacona Indians be placed under the control of the Crown and be administered, protected, and defended both for civil and ecclesiastical matters by the officials of the Real Hacienda of the city of Antioquia.¹⁰³ These ordenanzas also stated that the anaconas live in the barrio of Santa Lucía, where there was a church "under the advocacy of this saint and to which these Indians felt a particular devotion, and whom they themselves had with decency, well-adorned and created with ornaments and the other necessities for the divine culture."¹⁰⁴ They also established that in that church there be a permanent priest who would be paid by the Royal officials with funds which came into the royal treasury from tribute paid by other Indians. The contribution levied upon the Indians between the ages of 18 and 54 years and born within the boundaries of Antioquia, descendants of encomienda, or anacona Indians with ten years of residency in that jurisdiction, was of four pesos of 20 carat gold per annum, divided in two equal payments.¹⁰⁵ The product of these tribute payments significantly increased the incomes of the Royal Exchequer. To the "forastero" Indians they granted lots of land for cultivation near the barrio of Santa Lucía, and to the Indians "who were of any of the settlements of Nuestra Señora de Sopetrán and San Juan de Pie de la Cuesta, or were married to Indians of said populations," were authorized "to make their rozas and cultivated fields within the boundaries of those resguardos,

of which the father or mother of the indio anacona should be a natural, since in both towns there was sufficient land for them without causing damage to the people."¹⁰⁶

In 1641, the governor of the province of Antioquia, Juan Velez de Guevera, appointed commissions for awarding "forastero" Indians who still lived in different parts of the countryside, or who served in the estancias and hatos of Antioquia's citizens and who lacked "pasto espiritual." All of them had to relocate in the Indian barrio of Santa Lucía and there would be given lots and lands for their cultivation.¹⁰⁷

It is evident that the heavy tribute which fell upon the "forastero" Indian population was the reason why they tried to avoid payment by living in dispersed settlements out in the countryside, where, although they lived in miserable conditions, and were paid very little, at least they could avoid the onerous tribute. Once again the Spanish Crown recognized that to concentrate was to control.

ENDNOTES

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3. Silvio Savala, Las instituciones jurídicas en la Conquista de América (Madrid, 1935); Silvio Savala, Ensayos sobre la colonización Española en América (Buenos Aires, 1944); Jose María Ots Capdique, El estado Español in las Indias (México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1941); Jose María Ots Capdique, Manual de historia del derecho Español en las Indias. Encomienda originally implied: 1) usufructure, 2) obligation of military defense on the part of the encomendero and 3) responsibilities of all the activities and of the physical integrity of the encomendado.
4. Celso Furtado, La economía Latinoamericana desde la Conquista Ibérica hastala Revolución Cubana, 6th ed., Siglo XXI, 1974, p. 25.
5. Jose Maria Ots Capdique, op. cit..
6. Celso Furtado, op. cit., pp. 26-27.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. ANBC, Caciques e Indios, Vol. XXVI, fol. 646r, "Sobre la construcción de un acueducto en Antioquia," dated 1565.
10. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Sobre el estado de las encomiendas de ellos, organización de ellos en cuatro doctrinas," dated Feb., 1610.
11. Ibid. There was a total of 386 indigenes encomendados in the district of the city which were distributed in four doctrinas.

12. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. VI, fols. 336-313r., "Información secreta del repartimiento de la Fragua encomendado a Rodrigo de Carvajal (poblador que fué de esta provincia)," dated 1615.
13. Richard Konetzke, América Latina, Vol. II, La época colonial, (Madrid, Siglo Veintiuno, 1971), p. 173.
14. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 125, "Solicitud del Cabildo de la ciudad de Antioquia sobre postergación de encomienda, en voz de su Procurador Jerónimo Torre," dated 5 Sept., 1585.
15. Ibid.
16. Eduardo Arcila Farías, El régimen de la encomienda en Venezuela, 2nd ed. (Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1968), p. 87.
17. Emilio Robledo, Bosquejo biográfico del Señor Oidor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde (Bogotá, Publicaciones del Banco de la República, 1954), Vol. I, pp. 26-30.
18. Ibid., p. 31.
19. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Solicitud del Cabildo de la ciudad de Antioquia sobre postergación de encomienda, en voz de su Procurador Jerónimo Torre," dated 5 Sept., 1585.
20. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Gaspar de Rodas informa sobre el estado de la Villa de Santa Fe de Antioquia y de la gobernación," dated 4 April, 1583.
21. Ibid., fol. 4r.
22. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 125, "Solicitud del Cabildo de la ciudad de Antioquia sobre postergación de encomiendas, en voz de su Procurador Jerónimo Torre," dated 5 Sept., 1585.
23. AGI, Santa Fe, "El gobernador Alarcón informo sobre el discurso de la población indígena y la necesidad de esclavos," dated 21 Dec., 1609.
24. Emilio Robledo, op. cit., pp. 31-52.
25. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Gaspar de Rodas informa sobre el estado de la Villa de Santa Fe de Antioquia y de la gobernación," dated 4 April, 1583.
26. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Informe del gobernador al Rey sobre el estado de la gobernación, ciudades, cajas

- reales, de los indígenas, labor en las minas," dated 4 July, 1608.
27. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Sobre el estado de las encomiendas, su organización en cuatro doctrinas," dated Feb., 1610.
 28. Ibid.
 29. Ibid.
 30. AHAM, Temporalidades, Vol. 153, Expte. 4090, "Información del Capitan Mateo Castrillón, vecino de la ciudad de Antioquia," dated 16 Feb., 1668.
 31. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 65, "Solicitud del Cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia para volver al gobierno de la gobernación de Popayán," dated 22 April, 1598.
 32. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Informe del Procurador General de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia . . . para disponer de esa mano de obra," dated 2 Feb., 1610.
 33. Robledo, op. cit., p. 28.
 34. Fray Pedro Simón, Noticias historiales de la Conquista de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales (Bogotá, 1882-1892), Vol. III, p. 271.
 35. Pedro Cieza de León, La Crónica del Perú (Madrid, Edición Espasa, 1962), p. 62.
 36. Robledo, op. cit., p. 27.
 37. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 386-392, "Relación de la Visita de Herrera Campuzano dado por el escribano Rodrigo Zapata," dated 1614-1615.
 38. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Alarcón informa sobre el estado de la gobernación, estado de la población indígena y solicita negros," dated 12 July, 1612.
 39. Ibid.
 40. Ibid. The Governor confirmed that the recently reduced Indians (or indios de paz) numbered 200, including men and women.
 41. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 386-392, "Encomiendas de indios, tasas y tributos, en la Relación de la Visita de Herrera dada por el escribano Rodrigo Zapata," dated 1614-1615.

42. Cataure was a basket made from yagua or palm reed to move the fruits grown by the Indians.
43. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, fols. 31-33, "Población de los indios del valle de San Andrés, Informe de Pedro de Caravajal sobre sus indios," dated 31 Dec., 1614; ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 458-557, "Visita a la encomienda de Ciritare en la jurisdicción de Cáceres," dated 1615.
44. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 549-587, "Visita a los indios de la encomienda de Alonso de Rodas en Ciritare en la jurisdicción de Cáceres," dated 1615; ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 814-872, "Información secreta de las encomiendas de Soama y Ormana," dated 1614.
45. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 346-401, "Visita a los indios de Zaragoza y Guamoco. Consta los cargos contra Juan Perez de Garavito, contra el Mayordomo de dicho capitán; cargo contra Francisco Corral y contra su mayordomo; cargo contra Cristobal de Vicona, estanciero de indios encomendados de Francisco Ortiz y varios otras," dated 1615. These cases demonstrate the cruelties committed against the Indians.
46. ANBC, Caciques e Indios, Vol. XLIII, fols. 603r, "Disposiciones sobre la utilización de la mano de obra por salario," dated 1567-1570.
47. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 458-549, "Visita a los indios de la encomienda de Alonso de Rodas," dated 26 Nov., 1614.
48. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Alarcón informa sobre el estado de la gobernación, estado de la población indígena y solicita negros," dated 12 July, 1612.
49. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, "La ciudad de Cáceres da relación sobre sus minas de oro," dated 20 May, 1581.
50. Robert West, La minería de aluvi6n en Colombia durante el periodo colonial (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1972), pp. 31-42.
51. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Alarcón informa sobre el estado de la gobernación, estado de la población indígena y solicita negros," dated 12 July, 1612. The Governor noted that Barranca Bermeja lay on the banks of the Río Cauca.

52. James J. Parsons, La colonización Antioqueña en el Occidente de Colombia, "Version Castellana, Prólogo y Notas de Emilio Robledo (Medellín, 1950), p. 45.
53. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 52-56, "Visita del Oidor Herrera Campuzano a las encomiendas de la ciudad de Cáceres," dated 15 March, 1615.
54. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 214-316, "Visita de Don Francisco de Herrera Campuzano a los indios de Zaragoza," dated 1615.
55. Ibid., fol. 240.
56. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, "Cuentas de la Caja Real de la Fundición de la Ciudad de Cáceres," dated 1581-1583.
57. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 865-865r, "Información Secreta sobre los indios del Sitio de Ormana y Soama, jurisdicción de la ciudad de Cáceres, Respuesta a la Novena pregunta cuando era encomendero Dugo de Valenzuela," dated 21 Nov., 1614.
58. Ibid., fol. 868r.
59. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Alarcón informa sobre el estado de la gobernación, estado de la población indígena y solicita negros," dated 20 May, 1614. In note 7 reference is made to San Francisco La Antigua de Guamoco.
60. Ibid. Governor Alarcón reports that in 1614 the mines were worked and that all were very rich in gold deposits.
61. Ibid. Ley was the quantity of gold in the gold bars; its equivalent present measure would be the carat weight.
62. Ibid. To solve the slave labor crisis the Governor asked for 2500 negros for the Province of Antioquia's residents.
63. Pedro Cieza de León, op. cit., p. 67.
64. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, "Información del Capitan Estebán Ribera," dated 16 June, 1630.
65. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Carta del gobernador sobre la situación de la provincia y ciertas necesidades, sobre la sublevación de negros, fundación y situación de las minas," dated 12 June, 1611; AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Información al Rey sobre el estado de los

negros alzados que tenían las ciudades de Zaragoza, Cáceres, Villa de San Gerónimo del Monte," dated 20 May, 1617.

66. Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, "Esclavos y Señores en la socieda Colombiana del siglo XVIII," in Ensayos sobre historia social Colombiana (Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1972), pp. 60-61. Palenques were slave communities located in remote refuge regions. The sources mention, albeit in a vague manner, that these communities were organized upon some cooperative basis.
67. Alvaro Mejia Tejada, Introducción a la historia económica de Colombia (Bogota, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1974), p. 31; Margarita Gonzalez, El resguardo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1970).
68. Magnus Mörner, "Las comunidades indigenas y la legislación en el Nuevo Reino de Granada," en el Anuario de historia social y de la cultura (Bogotá, 1963), No. 1, pp. 66 et seq.
69. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 386-392, "Relación de la visita de Francisco Herrera Campuzano, dada por el escribano Rodrigo Zapata," dated 1614-1615; ANBC, Miscelanea, Vol. 7, "Informe del oidor Herrera Campuzano," dated 1615. It is noted that Alonso de Rodas inherited upon the death of Governor Gaspar de Rodas two allotments: that of Aburrá and Amesies, which by the time of the visita of Campuzano had 40 tribute Indians "de macana," totalling in all 130 persons.
70. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 380-391, "Relación de la Visita de Francisco de Herrera Campuzano, dada por el escribano Rodrigo Zapata. Formación del pueblo de Aburrá," dated 1614-1615; AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 75, Expte. 2091, "Visita general a la provincia por el Senor Gobernador Don Francisco Montoya Salazar," dated 1670.
71. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 380-391, "Relación de la Visita de Francisco Herrera Campuzano, dada por el escribano Rodrigo Zapata. Formación del pueblo de Aburrá," dated 1614-1615.
72. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, "Actos de la Visita de Herrera Campuzano, Oidor Visitador de la Provincia de Antioquia en la jurisdicción de dicha ciudad," dated 1615; Repartimiento de Peque, encomendero Bartolomé Rua, fols. 474-481; ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, "Visita a las Guacucos y Uralaes en la Relación de la Visita de Francisco Herrera Campuzano dada por el escribano Rodrigo Zapata," dated 1614-1615.

73. AHAM, Temporalidades, Vol. 43, Expte. 4090, "Información del Capitan Mateo Castrillón, vecino de la ciudad de Antioquia," dated 16 Feb., 1668.
74. Ibid.
75. ANBC, Miscelánea, Vol. 113, fol. 861r, "Superior despacho del Virrey para que el gobernador de Antioquia haga descripción de los Indios de Sopetrán y San Gerónimo y que ambos pueblos se junten, y se agreguen para pagar el doctrinero su estipendio," dated 1630.
76. Monografía de Antioquia (Cervecería Union, 1940), pp. 311-314.
77. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 37r-38, "Población de los indios del Valle de San Andrés," dated 2 Jan., 1615.
78. Ibid., fols. 31-37, 40-41r.
79. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 299-387, "Asuntos que sustanciara Francisco Herrera Campuzano, Oidor Visitador de la Provincia de Antioquia, en el partido de Arate, de la susa dicha provincia," dated 1614; ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 90-91, 163, "Visita Oficial que in Virtud de Real Cédula practicará en Santa Fe de Antioquia y Cáceres, el Oidor Francisco Herrera Campuzano," dated 1615.
80. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 844, 850-872, "Visita de Francisco Herrera Campuzano a las encomiendas de Soama y Ormana," dated 1614.
81. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 50r-52v, "Visita Oficial que en Virtud de Real Cédula practicará en Santa Fe de Antioquia y Cáceres, el Oidor Herrera Campuzano," dated 15 March, 1615.
82. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 55-56r, "Solicitud de Luis Fernandez de Sotomayor, Alferez Real, vecino de Cáceres y su Procurador General," dated 1615.
83. Ibid. In the document a note is made that by Real Cédula the Indian settlements should have been made with 350 Indian residents.
84. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 286-392, "Relación de la visita de Herrera Campuzano dada por el escribano Rodrigo Zapata," dated 1614. Folio 37 mentions that the Tacu encomienda had 17 Indians and belonged to Martín Durán, resident of Cáceres.

85. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols 47-47v., "Instrucciones para hacer poblaciones de indios," dated 1614.
86. AHAM, Indios, Vol. 23, Expte. 674, "Ordenanzas para los Indios de Francisco Herrera Campuzano," dated 1614. Copia 1670.
87. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 47-47 ojo, pag. siguientes, "Instrucciones para hacer poblaciones de indios," dated 1614; José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada, 5th ed. (Bogotá, 1889), Vol. I, pp. 240-260; ANBC, Caciques e Indios, Vol. XLII, fols. 80-97, "Antonio Gonzalez, Gobernador, Capitán General del Nuevo Reino de Granada su decreto sobre nombramiento de Corregidores y Alcaldes Mayores de Indios para el gobierno de los naturales," dated 1599; Gonzalez, op. cit.
88. AHAM, Indios, Vol. 23, Expte. 674, "Ordenanzas para los indios del visitador Francisco Herrera Campuzano," dated 1614.
89. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 47-48, 90, "Instrucciones para hacer poblaciones de indios," dated 1614.
90. ANBC, Miscelánea, Vol. 113, fols. 855-863, "Superior despacho del Virrey para que el gobernador de Antioquia haga descripción de los indios de Sopetrán y San Gerónimo que ambos pueblos se junten a se agreguen para pagar el doctrinero su estipendio," dated 26 Aug., 1630.
91. Ibid., fol. 862. The informant noted that, "la causa principal de tal disminución demas de las pistes que ha habido y hay quasi cada ano de dolores de costado, camaras de sangre, garrotillo y otras a sido el dar las justicias por alquiler"; Jaramillo Uribe, op. cit. pp. 127-1230.
92. Ibid. This was in all probability tuberculosis.
93. Ibid. Garrotillo has been identified as diptheria.
94. Ibid. A few years later a petition was made to remove foreigners from the settlement; ANBC, Miscelánea, Colonia, Vol. 85, fol. 398, "Juan de Escobar, . . . hace relación del Pueblo de San Lorenzo de Aburrá . . ." Juan de Escobar, dated 2 Oct., 1669.
95. Ibid.

96. Ibid., fol. 856.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid., fol. 862.
99. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 390-392, "Relación de la visita de Herrera Campuzano dada por el escribano Rodrigo Zapata. Orden para que los indios forasteros habiten el barrio de Santa Lucía en la ciudad de Antioquia," dated 1614-1615.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. ANBC, Miscelánea, Vol. 113, "Orden del Señor Juan Velez de Guevara para que los indios forasteros se pueblen en el Barrio de Santa Lucía, en donde se senalarían solares, se les darían las Tierra necesarias para sus sementeras," dated 17 Dec., 1641.
106. Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC BASE OF SANTA FE DE ANTIOQUIA

In the preceding chapter the different methods of populating the region that originated in the city of Antioquia up to the beginning of the seventeenth century were studied. In the present chapter the economic base of the city will be outlined. The purpose is to better understand the relationship of regional economic development that contributed to the shaping of the city's spatial structure and its dependent settlements throughout the urban hinterland. As such the analysis will be limited to the city itself and the peripheral area that fell under its municipal jurisdiction. Only more general reference will be made to its relations with the centers that came under the jurisdiction of the province of which Antioquia was the capital.

The foundation of a village or a city was meticulously legislated for by the Laws of the Indies. These laws legislated the distribution of lots of land (solares), of pasture land and the use of Indian labor.¹ The distribution of the Indian labor force and those elements related to agricultural production existed in proportion to the means

and worth of each member of the founding population. This was in accordance with the ordinances of 1573 in regard to "the population and pacification of the Indians" which states:

Conforme al caudal que cado uno tuviere para emplear a la misma proporción se le de repartimiento de solares y de indios y otros labradores a quien pueda mantener y dar pertrechos para poblar, labrar y criar.²

The possession of those resources, human as well as physical, constituted the origin of social differentiation in those incipient rural communities. And in this way the basic social groups of colonial society became established. In Antioquia, this society consisted of the following groups: a group of privileged Spaniards who had at their disposal land, Indians and other "worthy" persons to fill political and administrative posts; a group of whites who did not have these things at their disposal, who were known as common whites or whites "with nothing" (del estado llano); these followed a numerous group of Indians whose goods and manpower were at the disposal of the whites; and lastly a few negros who had arrived as servants of the first conquerors of the Antioquian territory.³

The city of Santa Fe de Antioquia was originated by means of a juridical act and with the establishment of its municipal government (ayuntamiento) its legal status became ensured. This body was in charge of governing the city and all the rural area within the city's jurisdiction. The city of Antioquia's immediate and direct function in regard to

the nearby countryside was exclusively economic. It corresponded to the need to satisfy the metropolitan interests of the Spanish Crown, which were outlined in the ordinance of 1573:

que renta o tributos dan y paguen o de que manera y a que personas y que cossas son las que ellos mas prescian que son las que hay en la tierra y cuales traen de otras partes aquellos tengan en estimación sí en la tierra ay metales y de que calidad si ay especieria o alguna manera de drogas y cossas aromáticas.⁴

Royal officials were in charge of representing the Crown's economic interests. The function of these officials was to raise and protect revenues obtained through gold production. They also made sure that private concerns in regard to gold were given to "noble" or "worthy" Spaniards who, immediately after the founding of the urban center, found their true reasons for living in such precarious and incipient cities, namely the supply of human and natural resources the countryside offered, and later, the exploitation of these resources and the consequent geographical changes that took effect over wide areas of the "natural" landscape.

In the province of Antioquia, the abundant presence of gold not only affected the fundamental spatial arrangement of its urban and rural centers, but it also determined the particular characteristics of its cities' internal structure. Development in the province was heavily determined by this type of economic activity. Gold mining became the "raison d'etre" of the area.

Thus, the Antioquian mining towns founded in the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century were located in zones where known precolonial Indian mining had taken place.⁵ These would then include the Indian provinces of Buriticá and Zenúfana. Since the Spanish urban centers were founded basically for economic reasons they almost automatically became administrative centers. This is particularly true with regard to the administration of mining activities which developed in regions where gold was present.

Mining activities

The organization of the Indian labor force in encomiendas manifested the process by which the city expanded into and incorporated the outlying rural districts. The concession of land as private property allowed an individual to exploit whatever natural resources might be present; in the case of Antioquia the natural resource was gold. In such a sense, we can refer to a centrifugal force that the city of Antioquia exerted over the neighboring zones that existed within the vague territorial limits of its administrative jurisdiction.⁶

The exploitation of gold, a natural non-renewable resource, abundant in the Antioquian territory, was initially located in the central western valleys of the province. These valleys are deep, twisting and characterized by rivers, streams and gulches that cross through them. The rich alluvial deposits of gold could be found on the surface mixed with sand or covered with clay gravel, sand or rocks.

The territory discovered by the early conquerors became the primary sites of mining activities.

The upper reaches of the Río Sucio Cañasgordas, the Buriticá mountain, the rich sands and beaches in the lower and middle part of the Cauca, all abundant in gold, became the first areas in that geographical landscape that the Spaniard incorporated into his mining activities. The first settlers--estate owners and others--organized gold extraction from the Arma Valley, Caramanta, as far as disputed San Juan de Rodas.

The deposits of the upper Sucio Cañasgordas were located in the rich sands of the bed and in the banks of this river as well as those of its tributaries. The Buriticá mountain deposits were in the western mountain chain and north-east of the Santa Fé de Antioquia Valley, and they extended in a quartz vein across a wide zone which, as has been shown, the Indians had opened by relatively shallow workings. The abundance of gold in the lower and middle Cauca extended across a vast area formed from terraces and sand lenses.⁷ In the mountains of the upper San Jorge, encompassed within the juridical region of the town of San Gerónimo del Monte since 1584, estate Indians were engaged in making ditches (for water to wash for gold) and conducted constant exploitation of gold mines.⁸

Combined with the actual mining of gold in the Antioquian districts there was also the practise of guaquería. This

entailed the despoiling of Indian tombs (guacos) for gold that was buried in them, and which initially included a significant proportion of gold being extracted from the area. Within the jurisdiction of the district of the city of Antioquia "existed many tombs where [it is said] gold is buried and from which the natives extract it for use in their commerce (Figure 5).⁹

The tax placed on gold, however, became higher than the value of the amount being extracted from the mines and should only have been called a "quinto" (20%) tax. For this reason the settlers became less interested in mining. Despite this, however, the royal officials supposed that many settlers were extracting large quantities of gold and trafficking it illegally to Cartagena where the "quinto" was not paid to the Crown.¹⁰

Spanish population centers were located in the vicinities of rich gold deposits, be they in veins or within alluvia, around the Antioquian region. For this reason the settlers did not have to raid the Indian tombs where gold was to be had just beneath the ground. The discovery of gold in Porce and Nechi gave origin to the Mining Ordinances of Governor Gaspar de Rodas in 1587-1593.¹¹ These ordinances carefully regulated extraction of the ore and remained in effect throughout almost the entire colonial period.¹² Through these laws water rights were regulated. Water, of course, was an important factor in gold mining and became a

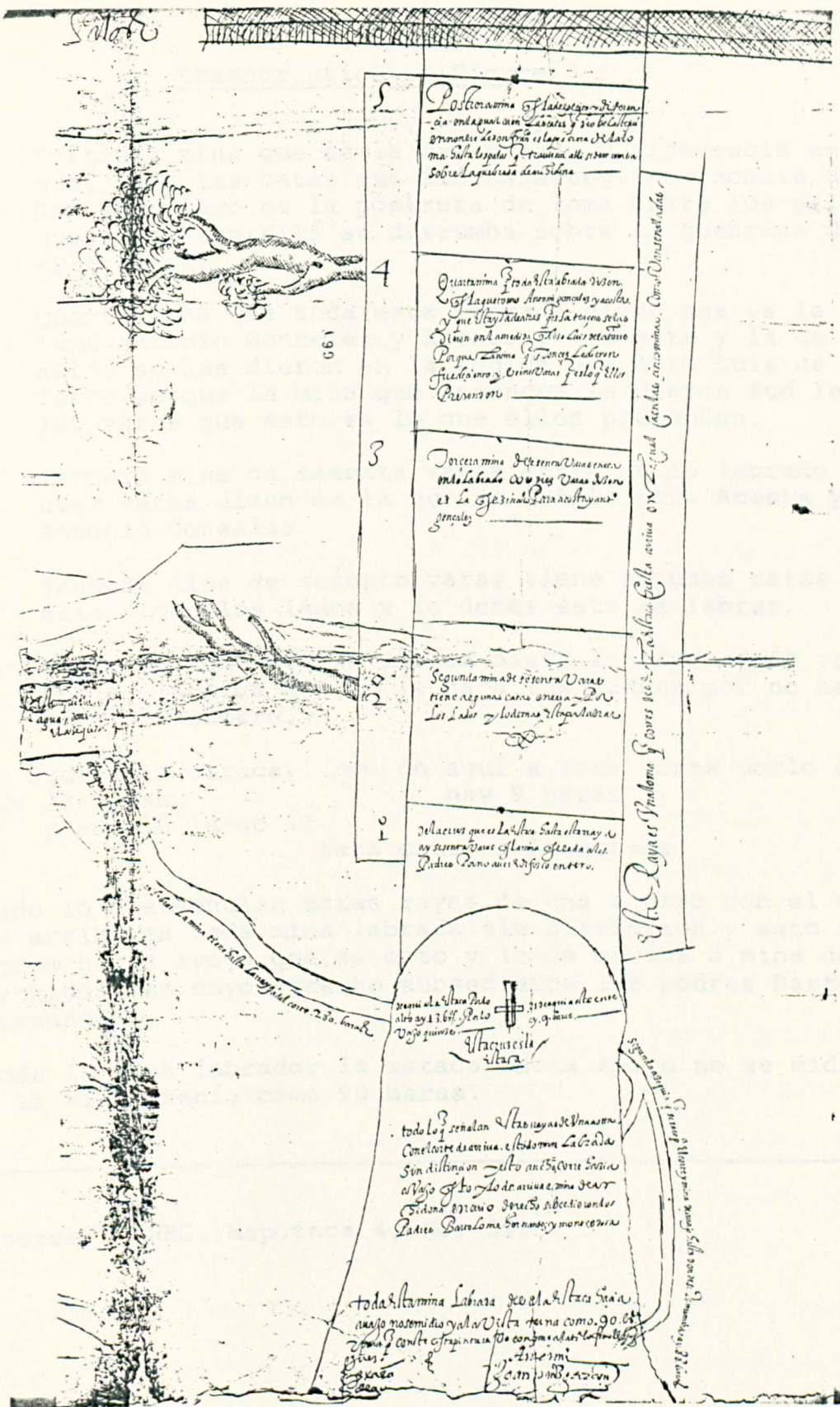



Figure 5. Plan of the mines of
Zaragoza, around 1580

Transcription of Figure 5

5. Postrera mina que es la del pleito y diferencia en la qual caen las catas que dió Belástegui en nombre de Don Francisco es la postrera de loma hasta los palos que traviesan allí se derrumba sobre la quebrada de arribadora.
4. Cuarta mina que toda esta labrada dicen que es la que tomó Antonio Gonzalez y Acosta y que esta y la de atrás se las dieron en la medida que hizo Luis de la Torre porque la mina que entonces le dieron fué la de 120 varas que esto es lo que ellos pretenden.
3. Tercera mina de sesenta varas entra en lo labrado como diez varas dicen es la que se señalo para Acosta y Antonio Gonzalez.
2. Segunda mina de sesenta varas tiene algunas catas en ella y por los lados y lo demas esta pa labrar.
1. De la cruz que es la estaca hasta la raya ay 60 varas que que es la mina que se le da a los padres por no haber edificio entero.

De aquí a la estaca,  de aquí a este corte por lo alto
hay 13 varas hay 9 varas
y por lo largo 15

Esta cruz es la estaca

Todo lo que señalan estas rayas de una a otra con el corte de arriba es toda mina labrada sin distinción y esto ancho corre hacia avajo que es esto y lo de arriba e mina de archidona en cuyo derecho subsedieron los podres Bartólome Fernandez.

Toda la mina Labrador la estaca hacia abajo no se midió y a la vista tenía como 90 baras.

permanent cause of disputes among the mine owners. The construction of channels, ditches or any other means to carry water to sites where the gold was extracted clearly necessitated greater water rights which often were related to the size of the mine.¹³

Mining rights were conferred by grants of private ownership, and the size of the mine varied according to the location where the operation was taking place. In river beds or in quebradas the size granted was usually 80 square varas (a vara was approximately 2.8 feet, though it is a variable measure). Sixty varas was the usual size of a concession on flood terraces, and the same concession was made in alluvium or "sabanas", on high terraces or "aventaderos," and in old gravel beds located at higher levels. In regard to gold veins it was stipulated that the discoverer would obtain the rights to two small points from which to mine, each containing an area of 50 square varas.¹⁴

Mines were held by the owners in two ways. "Salteada" meant that one would work it immediately; "mina estacada" meant that the mine was reserved for later use which could take place after the lapse of a certain time period and after certain previously stipulated requisites had been met.¹⁵ Numerous problems, however, arose from this type of procedure since the discovery of a mine by a person meant that the site was granted to him. He in turn would hold it as a "mina estacada," which would cause many legal problems

if, at a later date, another person or persons came across the same land and claimed it for themselves.

The regions where men worked zealously changing the course of rivers, accumulating huge mounds of sand, and opening up trails or excavating pits was located at that period of time in the low hot lands where the climate was predominantly unhealthy. The city of Zaragoza, under the regional government of the provincial capital, Antioquia, soon became the administrative center of mining operations. Here the major part of gold operations for the region were centralized and the city was famous for its high cost of living and the diseases it contained. ". . . In these Indies there is no other city either more expensive [to live in] or more ill healthy than this one."¹⁶ The complex topographic features which surrounded Antioquia and the other cities under its political control were additional factors in the isolation they experienced not only from the other mining districts but also among themselves. In this respect Antioquia did have some advantages since it possessed some adjacent land that was suitable for the development of agriculture and cattle raising. From the first decades of its existence, the wealthy settlers of the city disregarded the arid lands that Cieza de León described in his journey from Antioquia to Caramanta.¹⁷ Instead they began entering the east bank of the Río Cauca where they established cattle ranches and eventually they occupied the

pleasant Aburrá Valley and the temperate meadowlands of the Río Negro. From the Aburrá Valley, coincident with the decline of gold production in Buriticá and other centers in the region, a new search for gold was launched in the auriferous sands deposited in dry river beds. These beds were known as "hills" (cerros) and probably were relics of ancient alluvial spreads.¹⁸ Near these deposits, distributed in dispersed form in the Antioqueño batholith of the central mountain range, one of the most important geographical changes in the highland landscape was to be encountered, namely the localization of groups of miners called sitios, minerales or reales de minas, made up of slaves or free workers.¹⁹ Such groups or settlements were located in the valleys of the Ríonegro, Marinilla and, later on, in the "Land of the Bears"²⁰ and opened up permanent forest clearings in these high humid zones.

Here reference will only be made to some of the general geological features of this region where a significant amount of mining activity took place during the colonial period. The main mass of rock is a grandiorite quartziferous mass, extremely altered by eolian erosion.²¹ The north central section of this tableland was covered by stone scree material, more or less extensively in some zones. This is in marked contrast with the southern sections, near the Ríonegro, where such zones were not only smaller, but also less numerous. The boundaries between these rock zones

consisted of quartzite and quartz altered through the effect of subaerial erosion.²²

The Spanish occupied these highlands beginning at the Aburrá Valley and travelling in a north-north easterly direction. That valley, as with the Ríonegro meadows, soon after they were occupied by the Antioquian settlers, became the center of intensive cattle raising, which, along with the cattle raising of the Popayán district, continued up to the end of the nineteenth century. Spaniards, mestizos and mulatos, spurred on by the dream of finding gold, began the ascent to the neighboring high lands, opening mountain trails as they went along and blazing new ones to the sought after gold. After clearing the site of forests and underbrush, they spent the rest of their working lives excavating the gold deposits.

Characteristics of economic activities

The first phase in the process of gold extracting activities at Antioquia was located in the zone of Frontino and was associated with the settlement of the ephemeral old Antioquia. The dream of gold progressively led white settlers to the regions of the east, opening new trails for their beasts of burden, until they reached the left bank of the lower Río Cauca where short-lived settlements were established. However, the most important geological site of this period was the Buriticá Indian settlement, "where the Indians found gold and had many other instruments with

which to found the metal." According to many Indians and to the Spaniards who went with the "licenciado"²³ these were the best mines in Tierra Firme and it was from these mines that all the gold had gone to Cartagena and from Santa Marta. Gold from the Buriticá vein was "not only abundant but also as fine, as good in color and grain as that [which comes] from Cibao of this Spanish Island."²⁴

Buriticá Mountain was a pole of attraction for a group of Spaniards, motivating them to establish a permanent settlement some 32 kilometers to the south. Upon the basis of such factors the town was conceded the right to become the administrative center of the entire province.²⁵

It is interesting to note that the first settlers and authorities, besides filling the most important posts within the region, also received the highest economic benefits. For example, Gaspar de Rodas' wealth in cattle was more than that of all the other settlers combined.²⁶

The settlers at the town of Santa Fé de Antioquia managed at first to recruit a significant quantity of Indian labor. The natives came as much from neighboring areas²⁷ as from distant provinces, and it is to them that we owe the fact that the city of Antioquia became the most important mining center in the western region--a position it held until the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century.

After 1550, gold registered in the town came principally from Buriticá. Average annual production was 10,000

pesos²⁸ and was obtained almost exclusively through Indian manual labor and through the use of some negro slaves. Besides this the Indians were also supposed to work on the farms and cattle ranches. Thus, it was their responsibility to supply the town with settlers and to work in the mines, although for almost three decades after its foundation this Spanish administrative center was isolated in that vast region, and continually attacked by the Catias Indians.²⁹ "From its beginning and many years afterward the settlers flourished by way of the mines which they worked with gangs of negros (slaves) and other gangs that, among other things, raised cattle."³⁰ In the decade of the eighties, gold production rose significantly for the town on a yearly basis, but it hardly reached half of what Fray Jeronimo Escobar calculated.³¹ In the city of Cáceres they registered 11,951 pesos that came from the town between 1581 and 1583.³² This gold was probably taken from the sands of the lower Río Cauca, which was close to the city, making the gold easier to obtain and process.³³

It is necessary to point out that production figures for gold, based on the accounts of the Real Hacienda, should be accepted with some caution because the documentation of the epoch often attests not only to figures attributed to the royal officials that are suspect but also indicates that the fraudulent ways that were used to traffic illegally in gold, in order to avoid paying taxes and make a greater profit,

were extensive. It is also important to note that while the figures on gold production were significant, the city of Antioquia always complained of the poverty that reigned among the settlers. In 1583, Gaspar de Rodas pointed out that "in the last few years there has been much poverty in the city," and he attributes the city's decline to the continual remittance of the judges sent out by the Royal Audiencia of Nueva Granada. These judges monitored the provincial authorities and checked into fiscal irregularities in order to prevent frauds and increase gold revenues for the Crown. Rodas added that these judges were the cause " [of the fact] that many inhabitants were so poor that they could hardly support themselves, since the judges that come [to the city] receive large salaries and, for the most part, are men of few scruples."³⁴

By 1582, there was a significant increase in the number of slaves working in the mines of Buriticá. This amounted to 300 black and 1500 encomienda Indians.³⁵ The indigenous population, besides bearing the burden of agricultural work, had to supply the town of Santa F  de Antioquia and its mine workers with tribute. The 2100 encomienda Indians that this urban center had in 1585 were distributed among only 14 estate owners.³⁶ For the most part these Indians "worked on plantations with which the encomenderos supported themselves [while] the negros extracted gold."³⁷ The establishment of cattle herds, and ranches of the wealthier settlers brought

about the most significant geographic changes within the territory on the east bank of the Río Cauca. The livestock, however, from the region close to the city did not fulfill the needs of the population and because of this they also received extensive supplies from Aburrá and from the south.³⁸ It seems that pasture was not abundant enough, and that the climate was not suitable for the animals.³⁹

Frequently the documentation of this era places emphasis on the function of the Indian population in regard to sustaining the settlers at Antioquia and the mine workers. Although it is a harsh fact, these testimonies also carry an implicit plea for the prolongation of the encomienda system, which was endowed only for three generations.

Famine, in combination with the diseases introduced by the Spaniards, was the principal cause of dramatic reductions in the native population within the territory of Antioquia.⁴⁰ In 1588 a severe epidemic of smallpox passed through the territory causing the deaths of many Indians and Spaniards.⁴¹

The dissatisfaction among the settlers with conditions in the city of Antioquia is frequently manifested in the documents dating before 1590 when the production of gold began to decline. In Buriticá, a decline of 17,000 pesos caused by a scarcity of native manual laborers was recorded. This gold production decline was also due to the technical difficulties involved in supplying the mines with water and

material needed in the deeper shafts that were dug when the surface deposits of gold became depleted. The decrease in Indian labor at this time was compensated for by negro slaves who sold for the relatively high price of 200-250 gold pesos.⁴² The technique used in mining was somewhat primitive and it was essentially for that reason that significant production levels not only demanded a very large quantity of manual laborers, but also an exhausting work regime.⁴³

By 1608 there were only 500 encomienda Indians left within the jurisdiction of the city of Antioquia plus 200 black slaves. This figure represented the available work force for mining, agriculture and cattle raising as a commentator noted. "The city had good lands available for farming and cattle raising but lacked sufficient labor."⁴⁴

The economic depression triggered by the rapid depletion of the labor force spread over the entire Antioquian region. One year later, Governor Alarcón demonstrated his pre-occupation before one of the much-feared visitas of the judges of the Real Audiencia that took place every five years. In the light of the economic circumstances, he himself petitioned that the visita be carried out without cost to the city, since, at that time, the entire province only had 500 Indian workers and since the estate owners' poverty was such that they could not even support the land then available.⁴⁵

The visita by a judge, accompanied by his officials and servants, lasted for some 300 days, at a cost of three pesos daily. Additionally, the judge during his inspection combined travel with trade and made a profit by selling clothes and other articles at periodic sales to the inhabitants; he demanded, not unnaturally, that everything be paid for in gold pieces.⁴⁶

Faced with the depletion of the mines at Buriticá, Governor Alarcón, who knew of the abundance of gold in the upper Sucio-Cañasgordas zone, decided to re-populate the mines at Antioquia La Vieja (although he still complained about the shortage of manpower to work the mines).⁴⁷ Moved by the desire to animate the settlers of Antioquia who owned work gangs, and by his hope of combating the city's poverty, he proposed that they obtain and pacify new Indians. He also proposed that they settle the zone that fringes the city's jurisdiction in the region of the lowlands of the Pacific Ocean. This area was then included within the Provinces of Gasosa, Urabán, Darién and Tunucuná.⁴⁸ The city of Antioquia, which hardly had 400 taxpayers, needed the Indian work force contained in these neighboring provinces.⁴⁹ The Governor also insisted that Indians were needed to restore the city's economic base; he indicated that if this were not accomplished the center would fall into ruins, since the mines⁵⁰ were depleted and the natives continually decreasing.⁵¹

The petition for more slaves for the city's settlers, whose number was also declining⁵² and for the other cities located within the province, was one of a number of propositions put forth to solve the painful economic depression. The cities would be responsible for paying the debt incurred from buying slaves at 30 ducats per person (at Cartagena), if they were allowed to pay on installments.⁵³ The need to obtain slaves to increase low gold production now became vital. This was due to the fact that gold was the only means they had to generate trade and commerce, and despite its extraordinary abundance, it could not be gotten owing to the shortage of blacks.⁵⁴

In spite of the increasing dependence on black slave labor, however, in 1612 the city of Antioquia itself still controlled 45.5% of the "useful" (i.e. tribute) Indian population and 7% of the slaves within the entire province.⁵⁵

The concentration of the Indian encomienda population into small village communities of around 350 Indians⁵⁶ was one of the important transformations of the rural scene at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Another, already mentioned important change was the transfer of the foreign Anaconda group, spread out on cattle rances around the city of Antioquia. At the onset of the organization of the Indian towns, the city of Antioquia had a native population of 409 tribute-paying Indians grouped in four communities located within the district of the city. Although the city

had a corregidor (a Spanish magistrate in charge of Indian affairs) who represented the civil authority and was selected at Antioquia, relations between the Indians and white settlers remained essentially in the hands of the taxpaying-estate owners. This occurred because, although the encomienda system was in a state of crisis, it still persisted. The rest of the population could get access to this manual labor force by means of a contract system or by simply renting them.

The land lying to the south east of the city and on the east bank of the Río Cauca had been granted to the first settlers of the city and to their descendants. The land where the Indian population of Sopetran was placed belonged to the Hato Viejo owned by Doña Maria Quesada. She along with her son, Miguel Daza, and other neighbors were ordered to remove their cattle from that place to make way for the arrival of the new group of Indians.⁵⁷ Rodrigo Carvajal, Captain Francisco Martinez, Bartolomé Sanchez, Torreblanca and Diego Rodriguez also owned land in this area. The site where the town of San Gerónimo was founded belonged to Governor Gaspar de Rodas and later to his son. In the same way, the site of San Lorenzo de Aburrá was part of the "Hato de Aburrá", formerly owned by D. Bartolomé Alarcón.⁵⁸

The Indians were chiefly employed in clearing land to plant corn. Besides this they also planted manioc, bananas, and other native plants. The farming usually took place on

the settlers' ranches, within the areas burnt-over located near the river banks. These lands were first stripped of trees and undergrowth in order to farm clearings in which they could plant crops. The cost and time involved in cultivating corn was calculated in the following way:

Five Indians could clear a fanega⁵⁹ in 20 days. It took them 15 days more to fire [the underbrush] and plant, and another 8 to prepare the planting area. The corn was ready then, and the entire work would take 70 days.⁶⁰ Each Indian was paid three grains⁶¹ of gold per day which came to a total of 57 pesos.⁶²

The burning method could only be employed during the sunny season ("los soles") which lasted until the end of March, for once the rains began it became impossible to maintain the fires.⁶³ The price of corn fluctuated according to supply and demand. At its lowest it would sell at six or eight reales a fanega, but in some areas of the region it rose to 24 and 30 gold pesos per fanega.⁶⁴

Supplies to the city became progressively more difficult to obtain in direct proportion to the decrease in the Indian population, since they were the ones who grew the basic food crops for the urban population and for the workers in the countryside.

The regional isolation and, even more, the isolation experienced from one urban mining center to another, not only made supplying them difficult, but the task also became extremely onerous. The city of Antioquia lay at a distance

of 117 leagues (580 kilometers) or 30 travel days from Santa Fe de Bogotá, the capital of the Viceroyalty; it was a 100 leagues (500 kilometers) from Cali and 60 from Cáceres; Cali lay 40 leagues from San Gerónimo, which was 80 leagues from San Francisco la Antigua. It can be added that all these distances crossed through the worst and most difficult terrain to be found anywhere in the kingdom.⁶⁵

By 1615, when the surviving encomienda Indians had been placed in nucleated settlements, gold production from the Buritican veins and other mines nearby to the city of Antioquia had decreased even more.⁶⁶ This occurred despite the recruitment of Indian miners from distant areas, as, for example, the Titiribies who lived 92 kilometers from Buriticá Mountain. As Rodrigo Zapata, scribe of the visita, described it:

para la conservación de dichas minas y de la dicha ciudad de Antioquia, y que los reales quintos fuesen en aumento por aver muchos años que se labraría y aver dado el principal sustento de ella, respecto de haver pocos negros de mina⁶⁷

The depletion of easily accessible gold seems to have been the real reason for the expansion of mining activities toward the east and north of the Aburrá Valley.⁶⁸ It was here in the high lands of San Nicolas and La Mosca that the Spaniard, driven by the hope and necessity of finding gold, established the sites or mining areas of Ríonegro and Guarne, and also in the regions of Los Osos and Las Ovejas

in the upper Nare region.⁶⁹ The gold prospectors who lived in these places were apparently from the declining mining centers of Buriticá in Antioquia, Cáceres and Zaragoza.⁷⁰

Ten years later, in 1625, gold production at Buriticá had become almost insignificant; 68% of the gold registered in the city was being obtained from the alluvial terraces of the Río Cauca.⁷¹ The registers of the period begin to indicate gold revenues coming from Ríonegro and Guarne, situated some 2000 feet above sea level. The expansion of activities into this region was associated with the appearance of a new socio-economic element within the rural mining settlements--free or independent manual labor. The disintegration of the important slave work gangs, which, until that point, had been the primary means of wealth for the encomenderos among the settlers, was slowly taking place. By 1630, many of these settlers had abandoned Buriticá completely.

In the 1660's, the Governor of the province petitioned for a new concession of royal rights over gold by means of the "veinteno" (a twentieth) that would last for six years and apply to all the cities of the province. He attested to the fact that the mines in his immediate area had been depleted and that those now being worked lay at distances of 20 and 30 leagues (100-150 kilometers). He added that trails to the mines were in extremely poor condition and that they lay near infertile land which made it necessary to transport

in supplies and stores. Consequently this meant further expenditure and losses that were draining the entire wealth of the settlers, and were causing them to abandon the different cities. It also meant that available negros were now being assigned to types of work other than mining.⁷²

The food shortages which a year before had become worse were decimating the slave population. The settlers had forgotten that Antioquia's isolation had its population completely dependent on the production of the neighboring areas and in which the natives had been an integral part of the economic system. By 1670 the native Indian population did not amount to more than 400 people in the entire province.⁷³

A short time after, upon the arrival of the new governor, he reported back that after a journey of three months and five days over the most overgrown and impassable routes and across rivers, he arrived at Antioquia which "is a city in name only." He added that "The region is one of the most distant in the entire kingdom and is renowned for its life of suffering." Furthermore he stated that the settlers were so poor that not only could they not buy slaves to work the mines and the fields, but also that the mines, separated by woods and gulches, had become so badly overgrown and uncared for that even if they were worked intensely, there would be very little profit owing to how much they already needed and to the high costs such activities would incur.⁷⁴

About this time the same governor attested to the fact that the city of Antioquia and the town of Candelaria de Medellín made up the entire province and that the remaining villages were hardly worthy of that name.⁷⁵

The grassy Medellín Valley, along with the upper meadow lands of the Ríonegro, was a region of extensive cattle raising. Within the same economic zone lay the city of Popayán and the mining cities of Antioquia.⁷⁶ This industry was managed by the settlers of the capital and attracted many people who were of mixed race. The economic significance of this valley and the growing presence of whites, mestizos and mulatos that populated it gave rise to a petition to the Real Audiencia to grant them the right of founding a new urban center. Thus, despite opposition of the capital city, it was decided to permit the new settlement, to be called the Villa of Candelaria, to be founded at Aná with population that had come from the Aburrá Valley.⁷⁷

The new urban center's jurisdiction included all the valley district from mountain range to mountain range.⁷⁸ For Antioquia, the founding of the new center meant that some of its settlers would leave its jurisdiction.⁷⁹ In the town of Candelaria at the time of its founding there were more than 1000 homeless mulatos and mestizos who wandered around like vagrants, as well as some Spaniards who lived outside the town. Aná was the most appropriate

place to found the new settlement since 30 Spanish families and as many mestizos and mulatos were already settled there, and because it had a church and a priest.⁸⁰

Before the settlement at Medellín was even founded, however, and while the area was still within Antioquia's jurisdiction, the land in the valley had already undergone a complete change. From the small town of Ana to the town of Barboda there were already seven farms,⁸¹ 51 houses and 30 "familias de gente decente". To the south the small groups of Guayabal, Belén, Santa Gertrudis, el Poblado and Itagüí were already in existence.⁸² With the founding of the settlement, Antioquia's administrative, political and economic ties with the territory were severed. At the same time, faced with increasing emigration to the new settlement, a prohibition was placed on leaving the city of Antioquia.⁸³

Upon legalizing the settlement of the former inhabitants of the Aburrá Valley under its own independent civil government, the authorities of the Real Audiencia generated a centripetal movement toward the new urban focus.⁸⁴

Another factor that contributed to the decline of Antioquia was the repetition of a voracious fire that destroyed many of its homes, most of which had straw roofs.⁸⁵ Some years later, in 1695, the city suffered from the ravages of a famine caused by a locust plague which lasted no less than five years, making it impossible even to maintain enough seed for planting. Because of the shortage of food at this

time the price of a fanega of corn rose to five and six gold pesos, "and for this reason the negro work gangs were broken up, the former owners went into debt to such a point that they owed more than their land holdings were worth. This in turn put an end to commerce, thus ruining both settlers and traders who dealt with them."⁸⁶

The poverty of the citizens of the capital reached such proportions that for some 30 years it was reported that those who died could not pay their debts with the land holdings which they left. The vain and ostentatious town alferez, who used to walk around in a woolen suit (and who would not go out wearing anything less) upon dying, left 30 black slaves, who when sold at public auction, could not pay for his funeral expenses.⁸⁷

The mines within the jurisdiction of Antioquia were being reworked by black slaves, who were paid an extremely low daily wage and who served as substitutes for the workers who died on the job. Poverty was only attenuated when people, burdened by debts, abandoned the city.

The picture of utter poverty within the city was again highlighted when another official visita was announced. This time, however, it was not from the dreaded civil authorities but rather from ecclesiastical ones. The Bishop of Popayán obliged the city to make special arrangements in relation to his coming. Those who did not fulfill these obligations were to be fined by the Vicar, his representative

in Antioquia. In addition to this, the city had to pay 600 pesos a year at this time in order "to help in paying the price [caused] by the enemies of the Spanish Crown."⁸⁸ Because of the severe depression of the epoch, Church income usually was paid in foodstuffs and other items of this sort to the extremely poor capellanías located within the city. For this reason it was decided that levies would be raised from censos⁸⁹ since this had been used with much success on many occasions and found a significant source of Church income during the entire colonial period.⁹⁰

As if these were not sufficient difficulties, the year before the visita, 1702, another epidemic ravaged the city's population claiming the lives of countless negros and Indians. As was the case in the two earlier plagues, it left the city desolate.⁹¹

The citizens of Santa F  de Antioquia were also occupied in the defense of the city and the province against the English enemies who had invaded the province of Choc .⁹² The owners of work gangs, both settlers and outsiders, not only busied themselves with the defense project but also invested money from their own funds. The abandonment of the "work in the mines, on the lands would cause a great loss in supplies (since it was the planting season), great harm to the settlers, setbacks to the traders and a total ruin of the mines."⁹³ When another threat of this kind reappeared a few years later, the able-bodied men from the city volun-

teered to fight off the enemy attack.⁹⁴ The financial circumstances of Antioquia just before the eighteenth century was hardly anything about which one could be optimistic.⁹⁵ The Royal treasure chests were not only depleted owing to the poverty of the settlers, but its revenues were insufficient to pay the governor and the officials of the Royal Exchequer.

What Juan de Castellanos, the famous chronicler, had predicted at the very end of the sixteenth century, was fully being realized one hundred years later:

Well do I know the general pain
 Of men whose necks have felt the rope:
 And if they ignore this warning today
 And delay coming to order
 Eventually they will suffer a natural shortage,
 And the shortages will be universal,
 For where they are natural shortages, income
 also is in short supply,
 And where there is no income, there is nothing.
 However, things like this go unheeded
 Before the insatiable thirst of the drunkard.
 In his covetousness to make money
 As others drink he follows their advice:
 Eat, drink and be merry,
 For tomorrow we shall die.⁹⁶

ENDNOTES

1. Las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento . . ., loc. cit.
2. Ibid., point 47, p. 41.
3. AGI, Patronato, Leg. 28, Ramo 66, "Relación del viaje que hizo Robledo, teniente gobernador de las provincias al descubrimiento de las provincias Quimbayas, Antioquia, y Cartago," dated 1539; AGI, Patronato, Leg. 160, No. 1, Ramo 8, "Informacion del Capitan Gaspar de Rodas, hechos descubrimientos y pacificación de las provincias de Antioquia con quien se mando a tomar asiento despues de la muerte que los naturales dieron al gobernador de ella, Don Andres Valdivia," dated 1575.
4. Las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento . . ., loc. cit., point 5, pp. 18-19.
5. Ibid.
6. Juan de Castellanos, Historia de Cartagena (Bogota, 1942), Vol. VI, p. 152.
7. The jurisdictional limits of the province were vague, but appropriate to the boundary.
8. Fray Pedro Simon, Noticias Historiales de la Conquista en las Indias Occidentales (Bogotá, 1882-1889), Vol. V, p. 65.
9. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 548-549r, 555r-556, "Descripción del estado en que se encontraban los indios de encomienda de Alonso de Rodas," dated 2 Feb., 1615.
10. AGI, Leg. 51, "El gobernador de Rodas informa al Rey sobre el estado de la Villa y de la gobernación," Santa Fe de Antioquia, dated 20 April, 1583.
11. Ibid.
12. Vicente Restrepo, Estudio sobre las minas de oro y plata de Colombia (Bogotá, 1888), pp. 249-62; ANBC, Minas de Antioquia, Vol. 3, "Ordenanzas de Minas de Gaspar de Rodas," fols. 335-341.

13. ANBC, Minas de Antioquia, Vol. 3, fols 335-341, "Ordenanzas de Minas de Gaspar de Rodas"; see Demetrio Ramos, Minería y Comercio Interprovincial en Hispanoamérica, estudios y documentos (Valladolid, Departamento de Historia, 1970), p. 74.
14. ANBC, Minas de Antioquia, Vol. 3, fols. 335-342, "Ordenanzas de Minas de Gaspar de Rodas."
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 71, "Razón de la fundación de la Caja Real de Guamoco por el Tesorero de la ciudad de Zaragoza," dated 14 April, 1620.
18. Pedro Cieza de Leon, La crónica del Perú (Calpe, Madrid, Spain, Edición Espasa, 1962), p. 67.
19. Robert West, La minería de aluvión en Colombia durante el periodo colonial (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1972), p. 40.
20. AHAM, Temporalidades, Vol. 153, "Información del capitán Mateo Castrillón, vecino de la ciudad de Antioquia," dated 2 Feb., 1668.
21. West, op. cit., (1972), pp. 40-42.
22. Restrepo, op. cit., (1962), p. 62. Here reference is made to the 1888 edition where the mining ordinances are set out in full.
23. Cieza de León, op. cit., p. 68.
24. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, Historia general de las Indias y Tierra Firme del mar Océano, 4 Vols. (Spain, 1851), cited in Vicente Restrepo, Estudio sobre las minas de oro y plata de Colombia (Bogotá, 1962), p. 29.
25. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Gaspar de Rodas informa al Rey del estado de la Villa y de la gobernación," dated 20 April, 1583.
26. AGI, Patronato 160, No. 1, Ramo 8, "En la información del capitán Gaspar de Rodas, hechos y descubrimientos y pacificación de las provincias de Antioquia con quien se mando a tomar asiento despues de la muerte que los naturales dieron al gobernador de ella, D. Andrés de Valdivia," dated 1575.

27. ANBC, Visita de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 500-584, "Autos de la Visita de Herrera Campuzano, en el partido de la Loma de la Fragua," dated 1614; ANBC, Miscelánea, Colonia, Vol. 6, fols. 290-364, "Visita oficial de Herrera Campuzano a los indios a Loma de la Fragua," dated 1614. The Indians of La Fragua had apparently been moved a league from their original residence.
28. Germán Colmenares, Historia económica y social de Colombia (Cali, 1972), p. 222. Buriticá produced 50,000 gold pesos in 1550. AGI, Contaduría, Leg. 1488.
29. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Gaspar de Rodas informa al Rey del estado de la Villa y de la gobernación," dated 20 April, 1583.
30. Ibid.
31. Restrepo, op. cit., (1962), p. 29.
32. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, "Las oficiales reales dan relacion sobre las cuentas de la Casa Real de la Fundicion de la ciudad de Cáceres," dated 1581-1583.
33. Ibid.
34. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Gaspar de Rodas informa al Rey del estado de la Villa y de la gobernación," dated 20 April, 1583.
35. Emilio Robledo, Bosquejo Biográfico del Señor Oidor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, Visitador de Antioquia, 1785-1788, Vol. I (Bogotá, 1954), p. 31.
36. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 125, "Solicitud de la ciudad de Antioquia en voz de su Procurador General Jerónimo de la Torre sobre encomienda," dated 1585.
37. Fray Pedro Simón, op. cit. (1882-1892), Vol. 4, fol. 211.
38. ANBC, Resguardo de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 981-1006, "Los indios de San Lorenzo de Aburrá en Antioquia, entablan pleito contra Doña María Ordaz Figueroa viuda del capitán Fernando Torre Zapata por tierras que dicen les pertenecen," dated 1669; AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 75, Expte. 2091, "Visita general de la provincia por el Señor Gobernador Don Francisco Salazar Montoya," dated 1670; ANBC, Historia Civil, Vol. XI, fols. 76 & 88, "Visita practicada al Valle de Aburrá," dated 1670.

39. West, op. cit., (1972), p. 100. He stresses that the cattle raising areas were in the upper and middle Cauca.
40. Smallpox was the worst scourge of the Indian population, followed by influenza, typhoid and measles. See Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, Ensayos sobre la historia social Colombiana (Bogotá, 1968).
41. Fray Pedro Simón, op. cit., (1882-1892), Vol. 3, p. 271; Manuel Uribe Angel, Geografía general y compendio histórico del Estado de Antioquia (Paris, 1885), pp. 41, 129.
42. ANBC, Negros y Esclavos de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 869-884v and 1005-1006, "El Regidor de Zaragoza y alcalde ordinario, hace declaracion de los negros que tiene dicha jurisdicción," dated 1589.
43. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Informe del gobernadro sobre el estado de la gobernación, ciudades, cajas reales, indígenas, labor de las minas," dated 4 July, 1608.
44. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Carta del gobernador de la provincia al Rey sobre el dñscenso de la población indígena y la necesidad de esclavos," dated 21 Dec., 1609.
45. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. III, fols. 198-437, "Asuntos sustanciales por Francisco Herrera Campuzano, Oidor, Visitador de la Provincia, en la inspección de las encomiendas de Zaragoza y San Francisco de Guamoco," dated 1614.
46. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Carta del Gobernador al Rey, sobre el estado de la población indígena y su organización en encomienda," dated 1610; AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Carta de la ciudad sobre el decaimiento de la producción de oro, el abandono y ruina de los man-puestos de dichas minas y la necesidad de descubrir nuevas minas y pacificar los indios de las provincias vecinas para disponer de dicha mano de obra." Se refiere a la actual Cañasgordas: "teniendo noticia que el rio, que llaman Leon hay minas mas opulentas de oro que las de Zaragoza y muy cercana a ellas indios naturales en gran cantidad que estan por reducir a la paz cristiana," dated 1610.
47. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Carta del gobernador al Rey sobre lo ocurrido en la provincia y algunas necesidades de la población," dated 12 June, 1611. This authority says: "por ser la provincia de Antioquia La Vieja de minas de oro muy ricas envie a poblarlas al capitan Francisco de Arce."

48. Ibid. The King stated that: "he comenzado a proponer a los vecinos de esta gobernación la jornada y poblazon de las provincias . . . de la demarcación y terminos de este gobierno por ser jornada mas importante de cuantas, hay en las Indias y que mas a la mano esta y de las minas de oro y en tierra mas ricas," 12 June, 1611. It asks for 2500 black slaves for the residents of the province.
49. Ibid.
50. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 65, "Los vecinos de la ciudad de Antioquia testimonian sobre el trabajo de las minas. Revela que la disminución de la producción de oro era general en la provincia pues la escasez de la mano de obra y el alto costo del aprovisionamiento a las minas habia ocasionado el descenso de la producción de las minas de Buriticá y de los placeres que estaban dentro de la jurisdicción de la ciudad."
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Gobernador informa sobre el estado de la gobernacion de la población indígena y solicita negros, hace referencia a la sublevación de los negros," dated 12 July, 1612.
54. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador informa sobre el estado de la Gobernación, de la población indígena y solicita negros," dated 12 July, 1612.
55. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, "Visita Oficial en Virtud de Real Cédula que practicará en Santa Fe de Antioquia y Cáceres, el Oidor Francisco de Herrera Campuzano," dated 1615.
56. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 386-392, "Relación de la Visita de Herrera Campuzano dada por el escribano Rodrigo Zapata," dated 1614-1615; AHAM, Eclesiástico, Vol. 77, Expte. 2146, "Visita practicada al sitio de San Lorenzo de Aburrá," dated 1641.
57. Monografía de Antioquia, Cervecería Union, 1940, p. 340; AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 75, Expte. 2091, "Visita general a toda la provincia por el Señor Gobernador Don Francisco Montoya Salazar."

58. ANBC, Visita de Antioquia, Vol. I, fols. 172, "Visita oficial que el Oidor practicara al partido de Penco, jurisdicción de la ciudad de Antioquia," dated 1615. The estancia was an areal unit of land taxed by the cabildo. See: Uribe Angel, op. cit., p. 221.
59. A fanega was an areal unit of 100 square meters, or a grain measure of 1.5 bushels.
60. ANBC, Visitas, Vol. I, fols. 72-72r, "Visita oficial que en virtud de Real Cédula practicará en Santa Fe de Antioquia y Caceres, el Oidor Francisco de Herrera Campuzano," dated 1615.
61. Ibid. The tomín was equivalent to a real.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., fol. 52.
64. Ibid. It is noted that it cost 50 to 60 pesos per fanega in Guamoco; AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 65, "Carta al Rey de la ciudad de San Francisco de Guamoco," dated 20 May, 1614.
65. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 125, "Solicitud de la ciudad de Antioquia al Rey sobre encomienda en voz de su Procurador, Jeronimo de Torre," dated 1585; AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernardo Alarcon informa sobre el estado de la gobernación, de la población indígena y solicita negros," dated 1612.
66. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El gobernador Alarcón envia carta al Rey dandole relacion del estado de la provincia. Solicitud de negros," dated 20 May, 1614. The governor notes that gold production was steadily decreasing as a result of the lack of negros. He estimated a total of no more than 3500 in the province.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 75, Expte. 2091, "Visita General practicada en toda la provincia por el Senor Gobernador Don Francisco Montoya Salazar, 1670"; ANBC, Miscelanea, Vol. 38, "Visita Oficial practicada por el capitan Domingo Rodriguez y Jerónimo Becerra a la mina propiedad de Felipe Herrera, situada en el sitio de Osos, jurisdicción de Antioquia," dated 1674.

70. Ibid. Restrepo, op. cit., (1888), p. 9.
71. West, op. cit., (1972), p. 35.
72. AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 75, Expte. 2091, "Visita general practicada en toda la provincia por el Senor Gobernador Don Francisco Montoya Salazar," dated 1670.
73. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, "Información sobre el estado de la población indígena de la provincia," dated 1675.
74. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "El Gobernador Diego Badillo de Arce informa al Rey sobre su viaje de Cartagena de Indias a Santa Fe de Antioquia y el estado en que encontró la provincia," dated 18 June, 1680.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid. Uribe Angel, op. cit. (1885).
77. Ibid. By Real Provision it was agreed in 1667 to found a villa in the Aburrá Valley. This was challenged by the citizens of Antioquia in the Audiencia court.
78. AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 75, Expte. 3409, "Visita General de toda la Provincia por el Senor Gobernador Don Francisco Montoya Salazar," dated 1670.
79. See: Luis Latorre Mendoza, Historia e historias de Medellín (Medellin, 1934).
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.; and Robledo, op. cit. (1785-1788), p. 35.
82. Uribe Angel, op. cit., (1885), p. 121.
83. Ibid. In AHAM, Vol. 635, Expte. 10081 and Vol. 650, Expte. 10349 are to be found the documents on these matters.
84. AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 75, Expte. 3409, "Visita General de toda la Provincia por el Senor Gobernador Don Francisco Montoya Salazar," dated 1670.
85. AHAM, Miscelanea, Vol. 583, Expte. 9265, "El Alferez Gerónimo Guzman de Cespedes por ausencia del Procurador General de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia electo, representa el estado miserable de la ciudad y al mismo tiempo la entrada del enemigo inglés a saquearla," dated 19 Jan., 1703.

86. Ibid.
87. Ibid., fol. lv.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid. It was that more than 200 persons had lost their lives.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid. The costs of sending messages via the chasquer to Bogotá had to be paid by the city.
95. Ibid.
96. Juan de Castellanos, Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada, cited by Vicente Restrepo, op. cit., (1888), p. 218.

CHAPTER VI

POPULATION PATTERNS AND PROCESSES OF CHANGE

The Villa of Santa Fe de Antioquia experienced rapid demographic growth during the first decades of its existence. Barely four years after 100 soldiers, led by Captain Robledo, founded the town, it had a population of 600 Spaniards. The reason for such growth in an urban center in the interior is explained by the extraordinary economic possibilities which the highlands of Buritica offered with its rich veins of gold, and by Gaspar de Rodas' decision to move the inhabitants of the old and decaying city of Antioquia to the new town in the valley of Tonusco.

From its inception a mineral exploitation necessitated the recruitment of Indians for a labor force. The indigenous population was augmented, and thus, auriferous production grew and brought about a demographic increase and economic prosperity to the city. It is estimated that 25 years after its founding, the town had between 5000 and 6000 taxpaying Indians, who worked primarily in the mines.¹

The first demographic calculations were done in the years 1581-1583, by Fray Gerónimo de Escobar and Francisco Guillén Chaparro. The former refers to the town noting that there were "1000 villainous men were maintained, as

in a secure castle."² Guillén Chaparro³ adds that Santa Fe de Antioquia had 12 vecinos encomenderos, 200 ordinary Spaniards, 1500 Indians, and 300 black slaves.

When the city was still not yet 40 years old, Gaspar de Rodas, its re-founder and lieutenant governor, was quoted as saying that "in its beginnings and for a number of years later the citizens prospered by taking advantage of the mines with teams of black men, cattle ranches, and other resources utilized after years of hunger and poverty in this area."⁴

By the close of the sixteenth century, the city of Santa Fe de Antioquia, thanks to the importance of its role as administrative center, its geographical location, and its mineral exploitation, became more diversified, and finally became the capital of the province with a population of some 6000 persons.⁵ The presence of the precious metal not only determined the administrative importance but the urban growth as well.

Some few years later at the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, the new governor moved his base of operation to another urban mining center in the region, which indicates that Santa Fe de Antioquia had lost its primacy in auriferous production in the province. This fact coincides in 1608 with the diminution of the black and Indian labor force in the mining camps. The city had at that time 17 vecinos encomenderos with barely 500 taxpaying Indians

(encomendados) and 250 black slaves working the mines. The city of Antioquia managed to maintain its importance, however, inasmuch as its fundamentally mining economy was the backbone of the agricultural and pecuniary activity which occurred in the lands conceded to the earliest vecinos "in one of the most rich and fertile pasture areas of the New World."⁶

Another factor which contributed to Santa Fe de Antioquia remaining the provincial capital was the discovery and the mining of the minerals located in the cooler highlands within its jurisdiction.

It is worthwhile to point out that there was a well-defined social hierarchy in the city of Antioquia, established very early in its history and maintained through a series of laws which were passed even before Captain Robledo fixed definitively its location in the valley of Tonusco. From that time forward, and based upon these circumstances, the Spaniards held an arrogant attitude of superiority and domination over the indigenous population, which was subjected to this treatment and exploited during the entire colonial period.

The decay of Santa Fe de Antioquia began with the diminution of the indigenous population and the appearance of a free and independent labor force. The two factors combined to reduce the importance of the encomienda, the bastion of the meritorious citizenry, and to establish new

relationships between the process of mineral production and the populace of the region. In this manner, as the labor force acquired greater importance, it produced greater changes which affected the entire rural area under its jurisdiction, rather than being limited to the structure of the urban population.

Other demographic modifications experienced in Antioquia were those brought about as more vagrants and beggars appeared in the city and by the decision that all new inhabitants within the jurisdiction had to settle on their own land. The latter was stated by Caballero y Góngora in his "Relaciones de Mundo".⁷

The corrupted and the dispossessed endangered public peace and alarmed the citizens and authorities, who proceeded to plan the foundation of new areas, while some went in search of other lands to settle which would have greater incentives for their existence.

With this background outlined, the evolution of the demographic characteristics of Antioquia will be described, and the changes these caused in human and geographic terms in the countryside until the end of the eighteenth century.

The population of the province of Antioquia was estimated to be in excess of 25,000 between 1650 and 1675.⁸ At the founding of the Villa de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria (Medellín), the city of Antioquia allegedly had a population of 2000. In addition, the province had four other urban

settlements: Arma, Remedios, Cáceres and Zaragoza, and 17 pueblos which were separated from Antioquia and placed within the jurisdiction of Cartagena.⁹ At the beginning of the seventeenth century the province as a whole had some 35,000 inhabitants. By 1724 the city had 412 white Spaniards, 58 cuarterones or mestizos and 103 mulatos. All were "men of arms, capable of defending the city."¹⁰

By 1759, the province encompassed the cities of Santa Fe de Antioquia, its capital, and Cáceres, Zaragoza, Remedios, Santiago de Arma, and the town of Medellín. Remedios and Armas had been under civil jurisdiction of the province for barely two years;¹¹ up to that time they were parts of Mariquita and Popayán, respectively.¹² The other populated areas at that time were the valley of San Nicolás de Ríonegro, the areas of San Gerónimo de los Cedros, San José de Marinilla, Tasajera,¹³ and the mining sites of Osos and Petacas (Belmira). The area of Anza existed by this date farther south, populated by people who emigrated from the city of Antioquia. They had left the city in search of a new home, and chose to settle in the area known as "Río Arriba del Cauca," which was land that had been granted two centuries earlier.¹⁴ The following villages of indigenous peoples also existed within the jurisdiction: San Pedro de Sabanalarga, San Antonio de Buriticá, and Sopetrán. Within other district jurisdictions of the province were the villages of La Estrella, San Antonio de Perrera, El Peñon and

Sabaletas.¹⁵

The clerk of the city council of Antioquia estimated the population of the province at some 300,000 "communicants" in a report to the municipal council in 1767. This figure excluded children under the age of 16 years.¹⁶ The city itself had a population of 7000, or 30% of the population of the region. Another source calculated the black slave population in the province at 4296 in the same year.¹⁷

The royal decree of 1764, which ordered a clergyman sent to all regions more than four leagues from the capital, brought about the founding of a new village 20 leagues away, in the northwest, mountainous zone of the city, on the west bank of the Río Cañasgordas. The settlement of converted "wild" Indians of the Cañasgordas, and of the Ríos San Juan and San Jorge¹⁸ gathered together 29 families, which were put under the care of a coadjutor. The "able" Indians had to pay taxes to the crown, just as those in other villages.¹⁹

The city's population was differentiated by distinct socio-economic classes by 1777. As can be seen in Figure 6, the upper class was that of whites and descendants of Spania Spaniards. It was the élite who received the deferential address of "Don" and that filled administrative positions and religious offices. The second class was comprised of mestizos, the third of mulatos and zambos (Indian and colored half-breeds),²⁰ and the fourth was that of the blacks, either free or enslaved. The census report specifies that the popu-

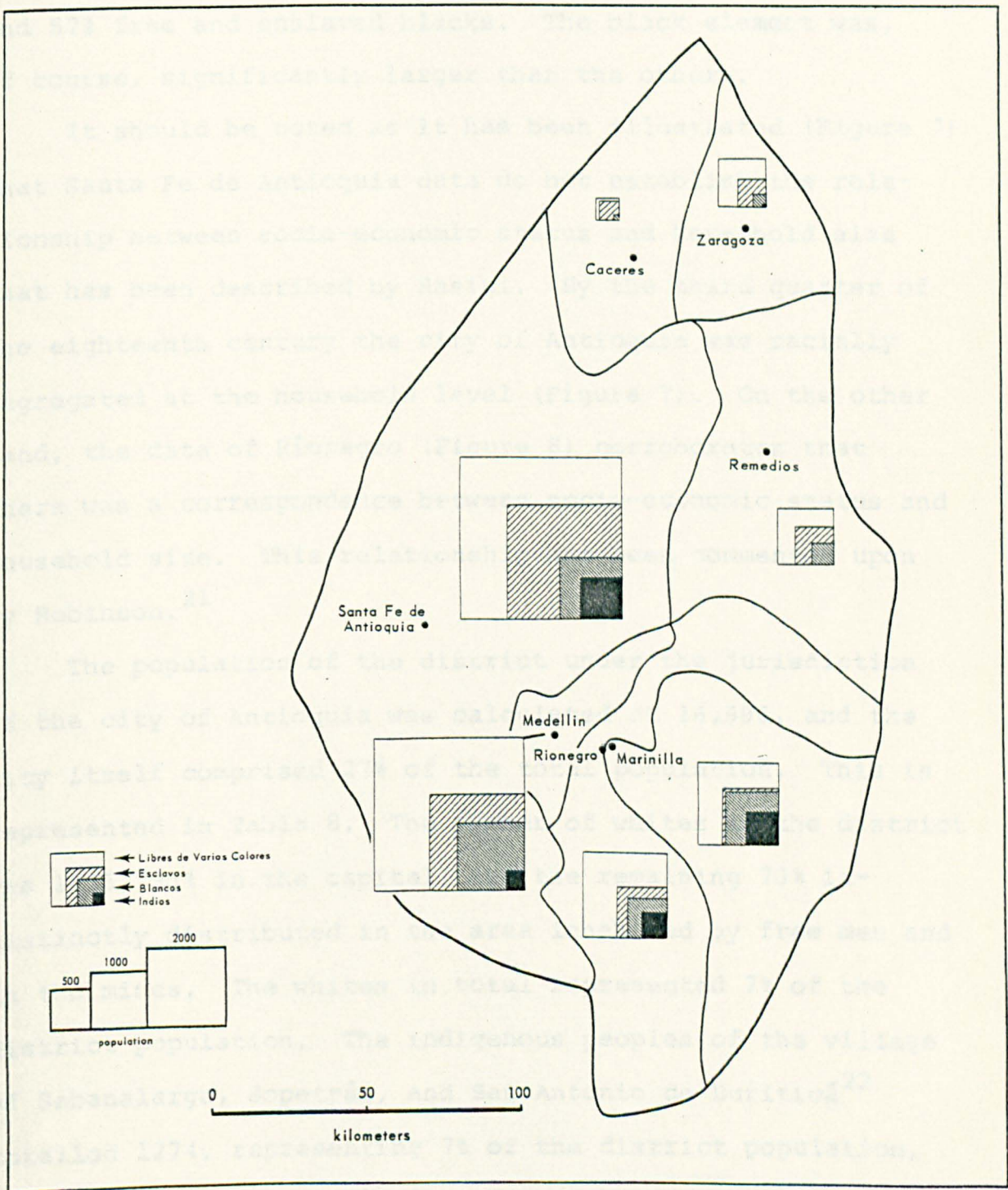


Figure 6. Population distribution in Antioquia Province, 1777

lation of the city and the surrounding areas was 4599, the composition of which was 8% white, 18% mestizo, 17% mulato and 57% free and enslaved blacks. The black element was, of course, significantly larger than the others.

It should be noted as it has been illustrated (Figure 7) that Santa Fe de Antioquia data do not establish the relationship between socio-economic status and household size that has been described by Rasini. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century the city of Antioquia was racially segregated at the household level (Figure 7). On the other hand, the data of Ríonegro (Figure 8) corroborates that there was a correspondence between socio-economic status and household size. This relationship has been commented upon by Robinson.²¹

The population of the district under the jurisdiction of the city of Antioquia was calculated at 16,996, and the city itself comprised 27% of the total population. This is represented in Table 8. The number of whites in the district was 1235, 30% in the capital, and the remaining 70% indistinctly distributed in the area inhabited by free men and in the mines. The whites in total represented 7% of the district population. The indigenous peoples of the village of Sabanalarga, Sopetrán, and San Antonio de Buriticá²² totalled 1274, representing 7% of the district population, just as the whites (Table 9). The tribute-paying Indians of those groups were no longer under the encomienda because

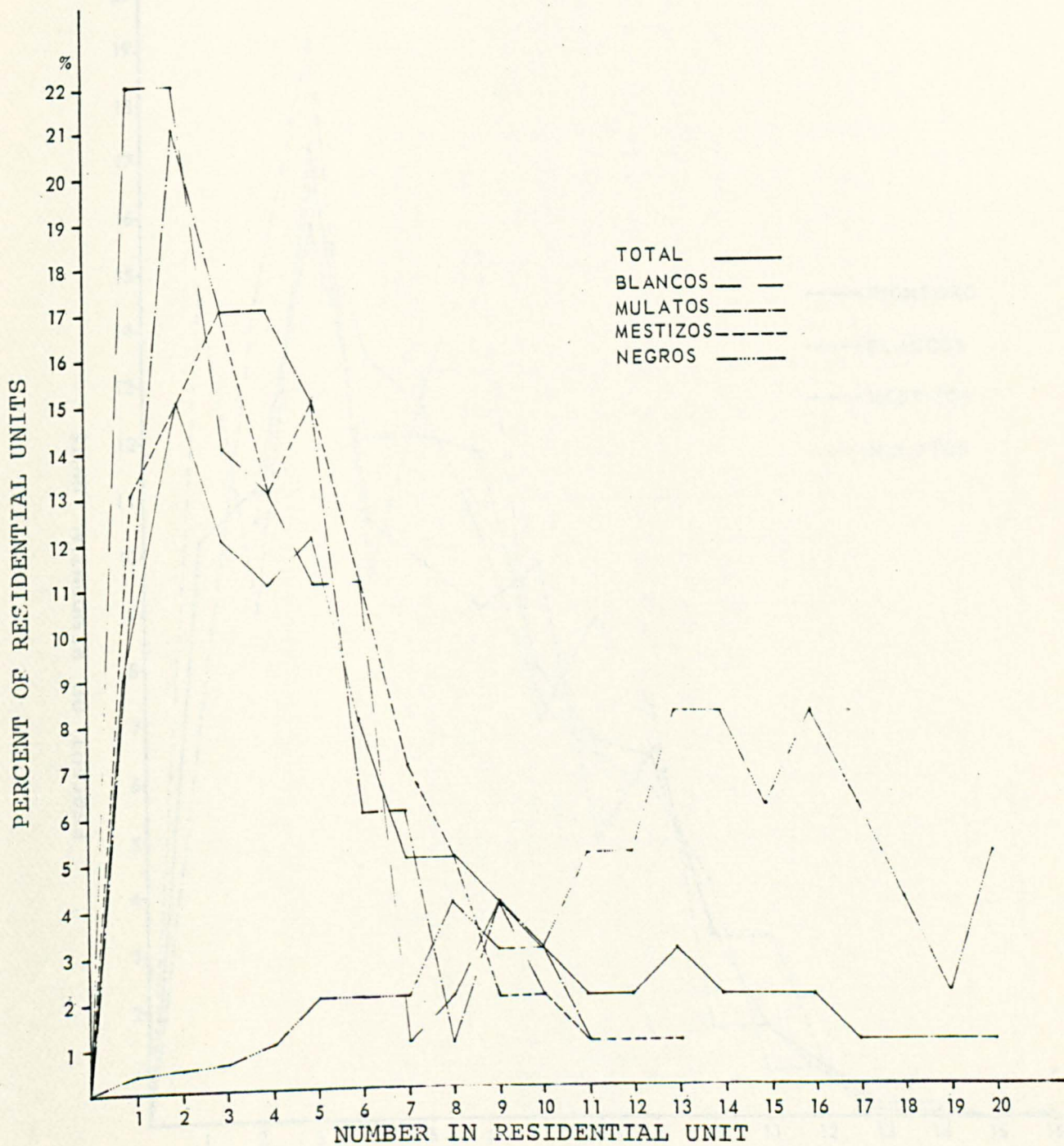


Figure 7. Variations in residential unit size,
Antioquia, 1777

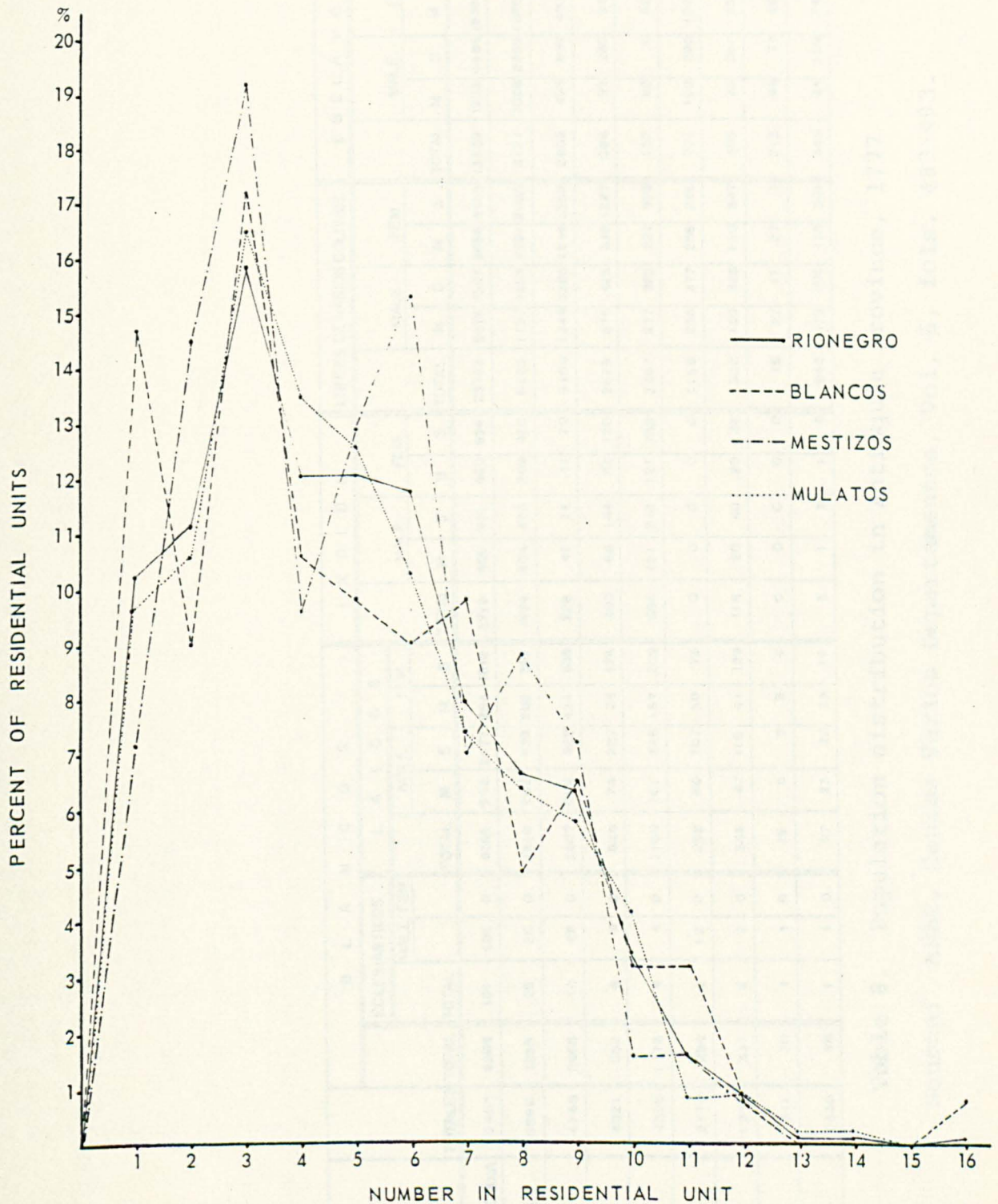


Figure 8. Variations in residential unit size, Rionegro, 1787.

	TOTALES	B L A N C O S										I N D I O S					LIBRES DE VARIOS COLORES					E S C L A V O S						
		TOTAL	ECLESIASTICOS			L A I C O S					TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.		TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.		TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.	
			TOTAL	MALE	FEM	TOTAL	MALE.		FEM.																			
							M	S	M	S		M	S	M	S	M		S	M	S	M	S						
PROVINCE OF ANTIOQUIA	46406	6366	101	101	0	6265	992	2477	984	1812	2719	455	910	460	894	23762	3874	7567	3868	8453	13559	1933	4486	1933	5207			
STA. FE ANTIOQUIA	16996	1235	25	25	0	1210	202	439	202	367	1274	204	433	209	428	6366	1197	1953	1191	2025	8121	1028	2559	1028	3506			
MEDELLIN	14785	2655	48	48	0	2607	426	922	424	835	228	41	74	41	72	9100	1244	3260	1244	3352	2802	493	899	493	917			
RIONEGRO	4521	557	8	8	0	549	74	227	74	174	400	68	144	68	120	2878	618	415	618	1227	686	93	260	93	240			
MARINILLA	4308	1173	4	4	0	1169	167	626	167	209	696	121	216	121	238	2307	227	925	227	928	132	62	0	62	8			
REMEDIOS	2170	294	12	12	0	282	50	107	50	75	0	0	0	0	0	1155	256	377	256	266	721	102	285	102	232			
ARMA	1877	334	2	2	0	332	47	115	41	129	116	20	40	20	36	932	130	325	130	347	495	75	241	75	104			
CACERES	311	20	1	1	0	19	3	9	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	78	27	17	27	7	213	46	73	46	48			
ZARAGOZA	1438	98	1	1	0	97	23	32	23	19	5	1	3	1	0	946	175	295	175	301	389	34	169	34	152			

Table 8. Population distribution in Antioquia Province, 1777

Source: ANBC, Censos Varios Departamentos, Vol. 6, fols. 483-493.

	TOTALES	TOTAL	B L A N C O S								I N D I O S						LIBRES DE VARIOS COLORES						E S C L A V O S								
			ECLESIASTICOS			L A I C O S					TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.			TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.			TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.		
			TOTAL	MALE	FEM.	TOTAL	MALE.		FEM.			TOTAL	MALE.		FEM.		TOTAL		MALE.		FEM.		TOTAL	MALE.		FEM.					
								M	S	M			S	M	S	M			S	M	S	M		S		M	S	M	S		
PROVINCE OF ANTIOQUIA	46406	6366	101	101	0	6265	992	2477	984	1812	2719	454	907	459	894	23762	3874	7567	3868	8453	13559	1933	4486	1933	5207						
STA. FE ANTIOQUIA	15722	1235	25	25	0	1210	202	439	202	367	0	0	0	0	0	6366	1197	1953	1191	2025	8121	1028	2559	1028	3506						
MEDELLIN	14557	2655	48	48	0	2607	426	922	424	835	0	0	0	0	0	9100	1244	3260	1244	3352	2802	493	899	493	917						
RIONEGRO	4121	557	8	8	0	549	74	227	74	174	0	0	0	0	0	2878	618	415	618	1227	686	93	260	93	240						
MARINILLA	3612	1173	4	4	0	1169	167	626	167	209	0	0	0	0	0	2307	227	925	227	928	132	62	0	62	8						
REMEDIOS	2170	294	12	12	0	282	50	107	50	75	0	0	0	0	0	1155	256	377	256	266	721	102	285	102	232						
ARMA	1761	334	2	2	0	332	47	115	41	129	0	0	0	0	0	932	130	325	130	347	495	75	241	75	104						
CACERES	311	20	1	1	0	19	3	9	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	78	27	17	27	7	213	46	73	46	48						
ZARAGOZA	1433	98	1	1	0	97	23	32	23	19	0	0	0	0	0	946	175	295	175	301	389	34	169	34	152						
PEÑOL	696	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	696	121	216	121	238	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
PEREYRA	400	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	400	68	144	68	120	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
SABALETAS	116	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	116	20	40	20	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
LA ESTRELLA	228	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	228	41	74	41	72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
SOPETRAN	364	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	364	57	129	57	121	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
BURITICA	368	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	368	64	119	64	121	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
SABANALARGA	542	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	542	83	185	88	186	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						

Table 9. Population distribution of Indians in Antioquia Province, 1777

Source: ANBC, Censos Varios Departamentos, Vol. 6, fols. 483-493.

that form of royal control had disappeared by that date in Antioquia. The last one to be documented was in the village of Sabanalarga, and after the withdrawal of the owner, the Indians were placed in the direct control of the Crown.²³ The population of free men of various colors, including mestizos, in the entire district was 6366, representing 37%. Lastly, the 1821 slaves constituted 48% of the district population.

The total of both groups is 14,487 mestizos, free men of various colors, and black slaves, of which 4233 were in the city of Antioquia. This indicates that the slave labor force was an important factor, not only those directly engaged in mining activities, but also on cattle ranches, in farm work, and in domestic service in the city.²⁴

It is important to note that the population of mestizos, mulatos, and free and enslaved blacks, considered only in relation to the total of the city of Antioquia, represents 92% (Figure 9).²⁵ The governor of the province, Francisco Silvestre, while soliciting the creation of a hospital in 1784, presented a "general census encompassing the province"²⁶ with a total of 48,678 who inhabited "an area of 70 leagues or more in width" (Table 10).²⁷ In reference to the lack of a hospital in the entire territory he stated:

sino es de su capital que se trata, o en algunas poblaciones, aun contando dos o tres, que son las más crecidas hay médico cirujano, ni aun barbero ó sangrador, que lo son de profesión (lo mismo

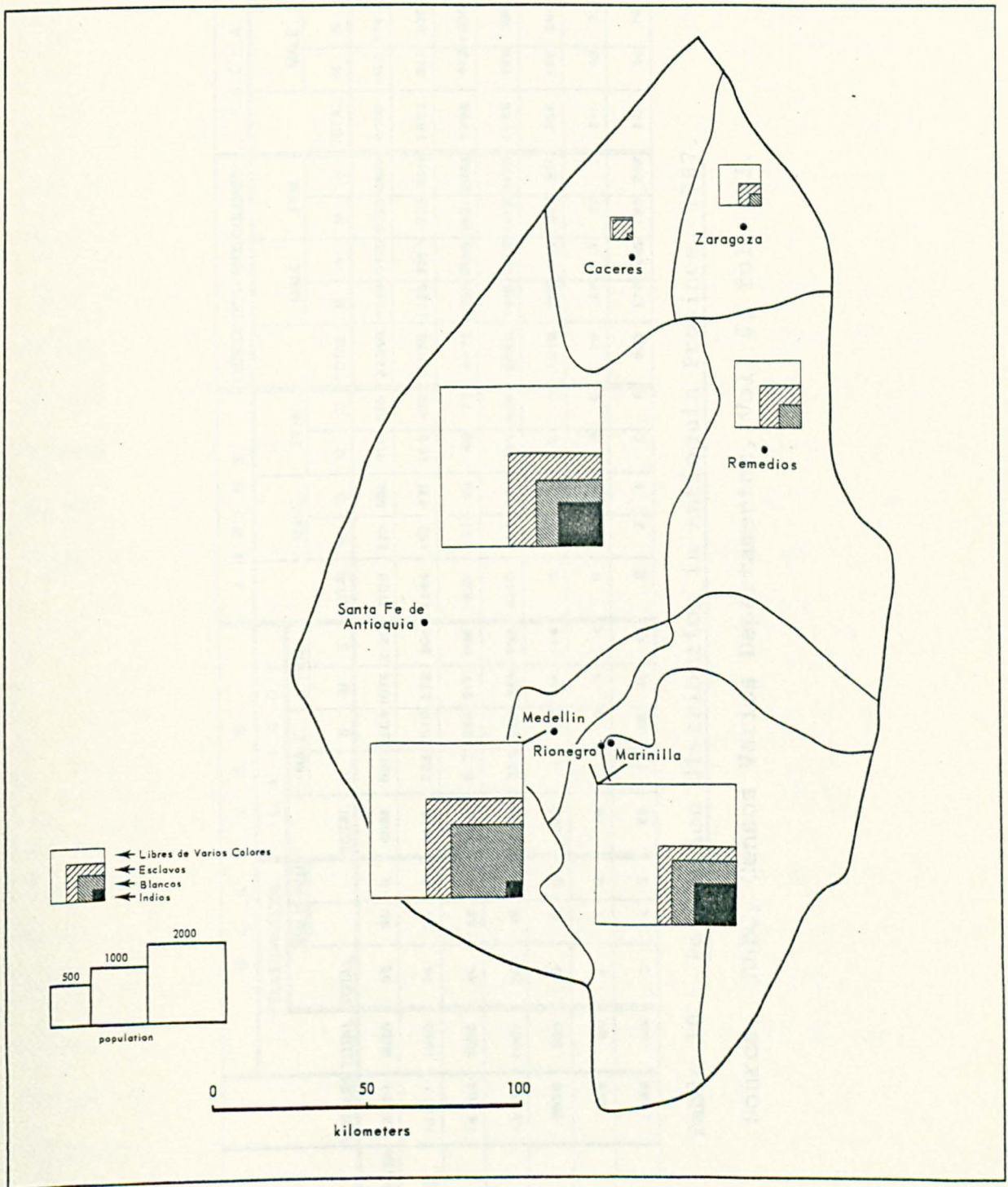


Figure 9. Population distribution in Antioquia Province, 1784

		B L A N C O S									I N D I O S					LIBRES DE VARIOS COLORES					E S C L A V O S								
		TOTALES	TOTAL	ECLESIASTICOS			L A I C O S					TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.		TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.		TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.	
				TOTAL	MALE	FEM	TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.		M	S	M	S	M		S	M	S	M	S						
PROVINCE OF ANTIOQUIA	48678	6628	95	95	0	6533	1081	2258	1074	2120	2708	370	932	411	995	31340	4948	10470	5023	10899	8002	1325	2742	1249	2686				
STA. FE ANTIOQUIA	16827	1540	24	24	0	1516	253	510	252	501	1344	182	471	199	492	11076	1726	3720	1786	3844	2867	512	930	475	950				
MEDELLIN	14884	3098	46	46	0	3052	507	1034	517	994	222	42	63	40	77	8772	1395	2938	1401	3043	2792	412	1005	381	994				
RIONEGRO Y MARINILLA	12560	1601	16	16	0	1585	256	580	256	493	1140	144	421	149	426	8673	1319	2906	1312	3136	1146	193	396	183	374				
REMEDIOS	2938	304	6	6	0	298	43	107	34	114	0	0	0	0	0	1876	304	649	312	611	758	128	264	134	232				
CACERES	313	20	1	1	0	19	3	9	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	78	27	17	27	7	215	48	73	46	48				
ZARAGOZA	1156	65	2	2	0	63	19	18	12	14	2	2	0	0	0	865	177	245	185	258	224	32	74	30	88				

Table 10. Population distribution in Antioquia Province, 1787.

Source: ANBC, Censos Varios Departamentos, Vol. 6, fol. 493.

pasan de principiantes) y la salud de pobres y ricos no tiene otros auxilios, que los de la naturaleza, y el de cuatro curanderos o curanderas, que conocen algunas yerbas y saben algunos remedios que aplicar²⁸

According to the census in question, which is summarized in Table 10, the population of slaves had diminished significantly in the district of Antioquia. This decrease was intimately related to the decrease in the slave trade beginning in 1780, and the poor economic conditions due to the great drought of 1782.²⁹ Such a lack of goods for subsistence, goods absolutely essential to the city dwellers, was produced that in the face of hopelessness caused by the lack of goods, especially corn, city officials said:

the planters find themselves holding up their work for the planting season. But because of rumors circulating that there was corn hidden we lost sleep, and suffered in the sun patrolling houses. They said we would find some, but there was none because the last crop was ruined during the summer. There was also news that corn, sweet plantains, pigs, and other goods were being taken to Medellín, and to other places.³⁰

To avoid these products being taken from the city, it was decided to fine the "crossers" of the Río Cauca and the "drivers who did not have a pass authorized by a town official."³¹ Extensive documentation exists from this period relating to slave sales at much reduced prices³² and more frequent liberations of slaves.³³

With the visita of the province some years later, in 1787, by the Oidor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, the "Regenerator of Antioquia," three new settlements were founded in

the plains of Antioquia, an area of great geological and economic importance.³⁴

The gathering of new colonists and the appointment of a justice of the peace for the settlement rapidly followed the official edict; a majority of the new colonists formed a part of the "castas" of the city of Antioquia, who moved to the three supposedly agricultural settlements established in the valleys of the Osos.³⁵

The inhospitable, high land of the new settlements was disputed over by those who considered themselves its discoverers, or descendants of discoverers,³⁶ and by those who had traversed the mountains in search of minerals.³⁷ The mining Indians of Sabanalarga and Buriticá were known to have silently come to the high land in the summer to "playar" in search of minerals.³⁸

Each settlement was granted four square leagues of land for the colonists to live on, aside from the land designated as common, open land. The first population to establish itself was San Luis de Góngora (Yarumal), in the mountains of Yarumal,³⁹ the source of the Río Candelaria. The inhabitants of the most prosperous of the new settlements in Yarumal dedicated themselves to the growing of corn, wheat, plantain, barley and sugar cane, in addition to extracting minerals from various streams and rivers, in which "oro corrido" was found.⁴⁰ The other two settlements were the so-called Media Luna, in the area of Carolina

del Príncipe (Carolina), and San Antonio del Infante, (Don Matias); opposition was raised in both against anyone who aspired to being "señores and forming ranches and mines on those lands."⁴¹

Certain that the minerals produced in the "Valle de Osos" would sustain the province,⁴² the inhabitants asked the authorities to let them live in peace, tranquillity and safety on their lands. The greater part of the gold produced was extracted by the "mazamorreros," who comprised the majority of the population. With the product of that work they were able to support themselves and to pay the two-castellano tax to the Crown.⁴³

By 1790 Yarumal had prospered; it was a town of free men, with 56 houses, a jail and a church, inhabited by 520 people, excluding 250, who, in spite of being enumerated there, did not live in the town.⁴⁴ The miners of the valley of San Andrés came there from their settlement to buy corn at a savings of ten or 12 castellanos.⁴⁵

The new road to the city of Cáceres contributed to the prosperity of the settlements in question in that it enabled them to avoid the risks of navigation to the port of Espíritu Santo. It also provided them access to the cattle from the town of Ayapel, as well as enabling them to work many "deserted" mines of placer gold deposits that were found on the mountainside and along this new road.⁴⁶

Carolina had 37 houses, and San Antonio de Infante (Don

Matias) counted 48, with a well-proportioned church and a jail.⁴⁷

The jurisdiction of the district of the city of Antioquia extended to Yarumal in the north, and to Anza and San Jose de Urrea in the south. The population of the entire district accounted in 1790 for some 18,010 (Table 11) with 18% white, 9% Indian, 66% free people of various colors and 15% slaves. This population was distributed between the capital city, the zones inhabited by free people, and Indian villages.⁴⁸

The city had 4701 inhabitants, which represented 26% of the population of the district. The composition of this population was as follows: 7% white, 61% free people of various colors, including mestizos, mulatos, zambos, cuarterones and 23% slaves (Figure 10).

Above an altitude of 2000 meters the mining sites in the cold lands were found, such as Santa Rosa (valley of the Osos), later called Santa Rosa de los Osos, and finally Santa Rosa; Hojas Anchas (Carolina); Río Chico and Río Grande, near Santa Rosa; and Petacas (Belmira), where the inhabitants were distributed in a particular manner, distinct from the rest of the district's communities. The population of Santa Rosa was comprised of 6% whites, 48% free people of various colors and 44% black slaves, giving a total of 892 people, barely representing 5% of the district's population. Hojas Anchas (Carolina), with 441 inhabitants, had 2% of the

		BLANCOS										INDIOS						LIBRES DE VARIOS COLORES						ESCLAVOS					
	Totals	Eclesiasticos					Laicos																						
		Total	Male		Fem	Total	Male		Fem	Total	Male		Fem	Total	Male		Fem	Total	Male		Fem	Total	Male		Fem				
			M	S			M	S			M	S			M	S			M	S			M	S		M	S		
District of Antioquia	18010	1551	23	23	0	1528	246	567	230	485	1677	236	585	215	641	11917	1882	4039	1920	4076	2865	442	1064	421	938				
Santa Fe Antioquia	4701	345	11	11	0	334	49	119	43	123	0	0	0	0	0	3261	483	1081	511	1186	1095	123	424	110	438				
Obregon	838	44		0	0	44	7	18	7	12	0	0	0	0	0	752	133	236	133	250	42	9	11	9	13				
Anza	749	20	1	1	0	19	4	6	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	614	111	172	111	220	115	23	45	23	24				
Titiribies	115	16	0	0	0	16	3	5	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	96	17	28	17	34	3	1	1	0	1				
Urrao	237		0	0	0	6	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	209	35	73	35	66	22	6	5	6	5				
Sacaotal	1532	96	1	1	0	95	16	36	12	31	0	0	0	0	0	1385	197	492	222	474	51	8	17	8	18				
San Andres Cauca	461	25	1	1	0	24	4	7	4	9	0	0	0	0	0	431	82	123	82	144	5	0	3	0	2				
San Geronimo	1410	213	1	1	0	212	36	84	36	56	0	0	0	0	0	1148	151	402	151	444	49	11	13	11	14				
Sopetran	2801	457	1	1	0	456	65	162	64	165	394	43	132	46	173	1728	255	615	254	604	222	28	87	23	84				
Sabana Larga	1146	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	657	122	180	98	257	488	105	116	86	181	0	0	0	0	0				
Buritica	627	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	626	71	273	71	211	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
Santa Rosa	892	57	2	2	0	55	14	21	11	9	0	0	0	0	0	436	56	193	54	133	399	60	157	58	124				
San Pedro	617	46	2	2	0	44	10	15	10	9	0	0	0	0	0	451	106	124	106	115	120	28	34	28	30				
Carolina	441	40	0	0	0	40	8	21	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	247	33	134	40	40	154	30	77	30	17				
Rio Chico	284	64	0	0	0	64	10	21	10	23	0	0	0	0	0	152	20	57	20	55	66	12	23	12	21				
Rio Grande	414	101	0	0	0	101	16	41	16	28	0	0	0	0	0	215	38	93	38	46	96	17	31	17	33				
Belmira	745	19	1	1	0	18	3	9	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	304	60	100	60	84	422	86	136	86	114				

Table 11. Population distribution in Antioquia Province, 1790.

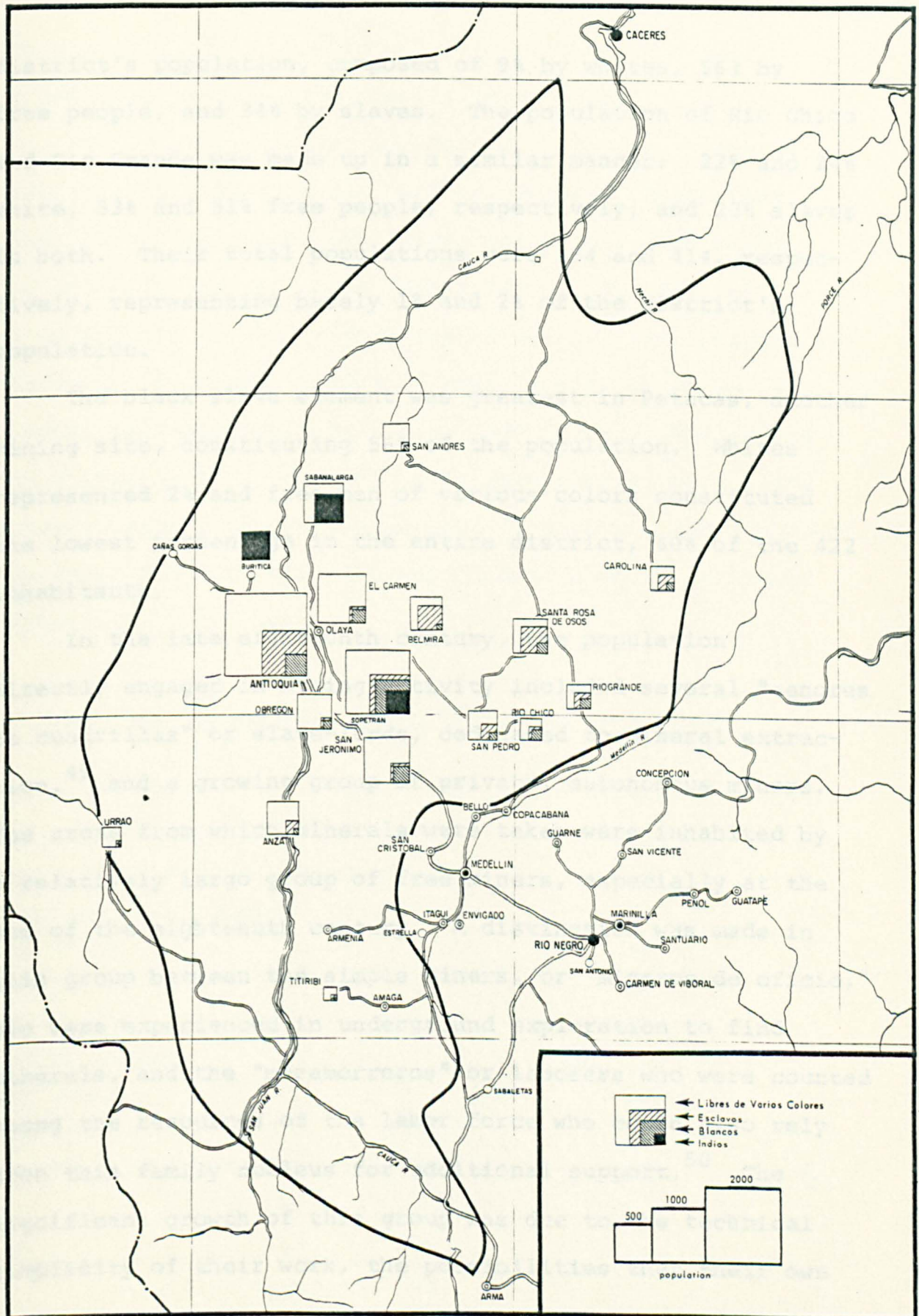


Figure 10. Population distribution in District of Antioquia, 1790

district's population, composed of 9% by whites, 56% by free people, and 34% by slaves. The population of Rio Chico and Rio Grande was made up in a similar manner: 22% and 24% white, 53% and 51% free people, respectively, and 23% slaves in both. Their total populations were 284 and 414, respectively, representing barely 1% and 2% of the district's population.

The black slave element was greatest in Petacas, another mining site, constituting 56% of the population. Whites represented 2% and free men of various colors constituted the lowest percentage in the entire district, 40% of the 422 inhabitants.

In the late eighteenth century, the population directly engaged in mining activity included several "senores de cuadrillas" or slave-lords, dedicated to mineral extraction,⁴⁹ and a growing group of private, autonomous miners. The areas from which minerals were taken were inhabited by a relatively large group of free miners, especially at the end of the eighteenth century. A distinction was made in this group between the simple miners, or "mineros de oficio," who were experienced in underground exploration to find minerals, and the "mazamorreros" or laborers who were counted among the resources of the labor force who could also rely upon this family nucleus for additional support.⁵⁰ The significant growth of this group was due to the technical simplicity of their work, the possibilities that their own

efforts offered in this activity, and to the attractiveness of the comparatively good living conditions.⁵¹

By 1793 the group of mayamorreros was far larger than miners at the sites of San Jacinto, Petacas, Santa Rosa, Carolina del Príncipe, Río Chico, Río Grande, San Antonio del Infante, and San Pedro (Table 12).⁵² The city of Antioquia had 20 reales de minas of the 100 that existed in the entire province in 1797. These "reales de minas" were located in Santa Rosa, San Pedro, and Anza.⁵³ The people who worked in them, aside from private miners, were black slaves, members of one mining gang or another, and represented 4% of the population in the jurisdiction of Antioquia (Table 12).⁵⁴

Table 12. Mining population in Antioquia, 1793

Mining Center	Mayamorreros	Mineros
Santa Rosa	71	8
San Luis de Gongora (Yarumal)	0	6
Carolina del Príncipe	0	7
Río Chico	27	3
Petacas	48	5
Río Grande	0	3
Tierra Adentro	0	2
San Pedro	50	13
Angostura de Dolores	0	8
San Antonio del Infante (Don Matias)	58	0

Source: AHAM, Vol. 343, Expte. 649, dated 1793; and Vol. Expte 6650, dated 1793.

The populations in the Indian villages had experienced some very important modifications. Since their establishment in the previous century, pressures were initiated for control of the land, violating the purposes for which they were originated. Mon y Velarde provides information about the co-existence of the groups of non-Indian peoples in the village of Sopetran.⁵⁵ Its population in 1790 was 2801, making it the second largest village within the jurisdiction with 15% of the total population. It was composed of 16% whites, 61% free men of various colors, 7% slaves and 394 Indians (two less than in the 1777 census), representing 14%. Sabanalarga, according to Mon y Velarde, had also undergone important modifications in its population.⁵⁶ Of its 1146 inhabitants, 57% were Indians and the remaining 42% were free men of various colors. Buriticá, on the other hand, was composed of only 627 Indians, possibly because the land in the area was not considered cultivable, so when the mining activity at "Cerro de Buriticá" was abandoned, all its attraction was lost.

A provincial census was performed in Antioquia in 1798,⁵⁷ according to which the city and the area of its jurisdiction had a population of 24,065 (Table 13). The upper class, the whites, represented 7%; the second class, of Indians, 11%; the third, of free men of various colors, 65%, and the black slaves represented 17%.

	TOTALES	B L A N C O S									I N D I O S					LIBRES DE VARIOS COLORES					E S C L A V O S								
		TOTAL	ECLESIASTICOS			L A I C O S					TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.		TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.		TOTAL	MALE.			FEM.		
			TOTAL	MALE	FEM.	TOTAL	MALE		FEM			M	S	M	S			M	S	M	S			TOTAL	M	S	M	S	
							M	S	M	S					M	S					M	S							
PROVINCE OF ANTIOQUIA	70881	11090	86	67	19	11004	1642	3935	1642	3785	4281	437	1688	437	1719	45921	6372	16390	6372	16787	9563	1655	3124	1655	3129				
STA. FE ANTIOQUIA	24065	1776	22	22	0	1754	262	663	262	584	2660	213	1125	213	1109	15611	2046	5514	2046	6005	4006	635	1551	635	1185				
MEDELLIN	24659	5106	44	25	19	5062	747	1734	747	1834	461	70	150	70	171	15051	1923	5420	1923	5785	4036	753	1060	753	1470				
RIONEGRO	16066	2339	13	13	0	2326	371	851	371	733	393	34	164	34	161	12001	1903	4330	1903	3865	1326	244	434	244	404				
MARINILLA	6091	1869	7	7	0	1862	262	687	262	651	767	120	249	120	278	3258	500	1126	500	1132	195	232	79	23	70				

Table 13. Population distribution in Antioquia Province, 1798.

Source: ANBC, Miscelanea 99, 1798.

In 1806 the groups distinguished in the city of Antioquia⁵⁸ and which appeared in that year's census were: the upper class whites, who were subdivided into nobles and Spaniards, and ordinary whites, born in America. The first group held all the administrative positions and noble offices, including all the ecclesiastical ones. They also represented the class of commercial importers, great merchants, and owners of slave gangs. All were symbolized by the deferential title "Don." There are no whites of the second group found occupying the abovementioned high offices, but they, too, received the respectful form, "Don."⁵⁹ This group represented the class linked to minor commerce and landholding on a smaller scale.

The second class was that of the mestizos. It seems that they were allowed to fill but one of the offices of the oversized administrative bureaucracy of the time, that of public scribe, and constituted the group of legally free and independent workers.⁶⁰

The census in question listed the population of the city of Antioquia at 5944 persons⁶¹ and included the people of neighboring Tonusco Arriba, who were primarily mestizos with some mulatos. That population was composed, as demonstrated in Table 12, of 5% whites, 21% mestizos, 56% mulatos and 17% slaves. With respect to the census taken some 16 years earlier, the mestizo population, including both mestizos and mulatos had grown, while the white and slave

populations had diminished percentage-wise.⁶² It is important to point out that all administrative duties in the city were handled by seventeen individuals. This group belonged to the white and noble class which owned 156 black slaves or 15.3% of the total black population, just as 447 or 34% of the slaves belonged to the remaining white population, and the rest of the slaves, 51% were in the hands of mestizos or a few mulatos.

The whites in the city of Antioquia were not the only people in possession of slaves toward the end of the colonial period. The mestizos were also capable of acquiring and keeping them, and even the mulatos were able to utilize them.

According to the information in the 1508 census (Table 14), the slave population was distributed throughout the

Table 14. Slave Population of the District of Antioquia, 1808

<u>District of Antioquia</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent of the Population by District</u>
Santa Fe de Antioquia	3663	83
Urrao	18	0.5
Sacaojal	0	0
San Geronimo	67	1.5
San Pedro	176	4
Cancan	241	5.5
Sabanalarga	0	0
Buritica	25	0.5
Sopetran	190	4.3
Canasgordas	21	0.4
TOTAL	4401	100

Source: AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, dated 1808.

settlements of the district, and it was rare to find a village in which they were not present. (Figure 11).

Of the 4401 slaves in the district of Antioquia⁶³ at that date, 83% of them were in the city itself and the remainder were distributed in the rural settlements of the district. Of the 11,963 inhabitants living in villages and areas within the jurisdiction other than the city, 738, or 6% of the total, were slaves. San José de Ur Rao, one of the southernmost areas of the district, southwest of Antioquia, had a population of 460; 20% were slaves, 11% Chocoes Indians, and the rest were white or pardos.⁶⁴ The "savage" Chocó Indians and fugitives from the towns of Chocó and Cañasgordas constantly appeared in the village.

The people of Ur Rao adopted cattle raising as a way of life, and had clear two square leagues of land for grazing cattle and mules. They also raised hogs, which they sold in the city and even in Chocó.⁶⁵ They cultivated corn on plots "continuously cleared" as well as beans and vegetables, since they were not disposed to work in the mines.

Cañasgordas, the most northwesterly village of the city of Antioquia, which was originally settled by Indians, had 130 free men, which includes two white and three mestizo families. There were, in addition, 21 slaves and 158 Indians.

Indians and free men were preferred for the work of sifting the earth to find the gold ore on the banks of the Río Cauca. After the waters had evaporated in the summers,

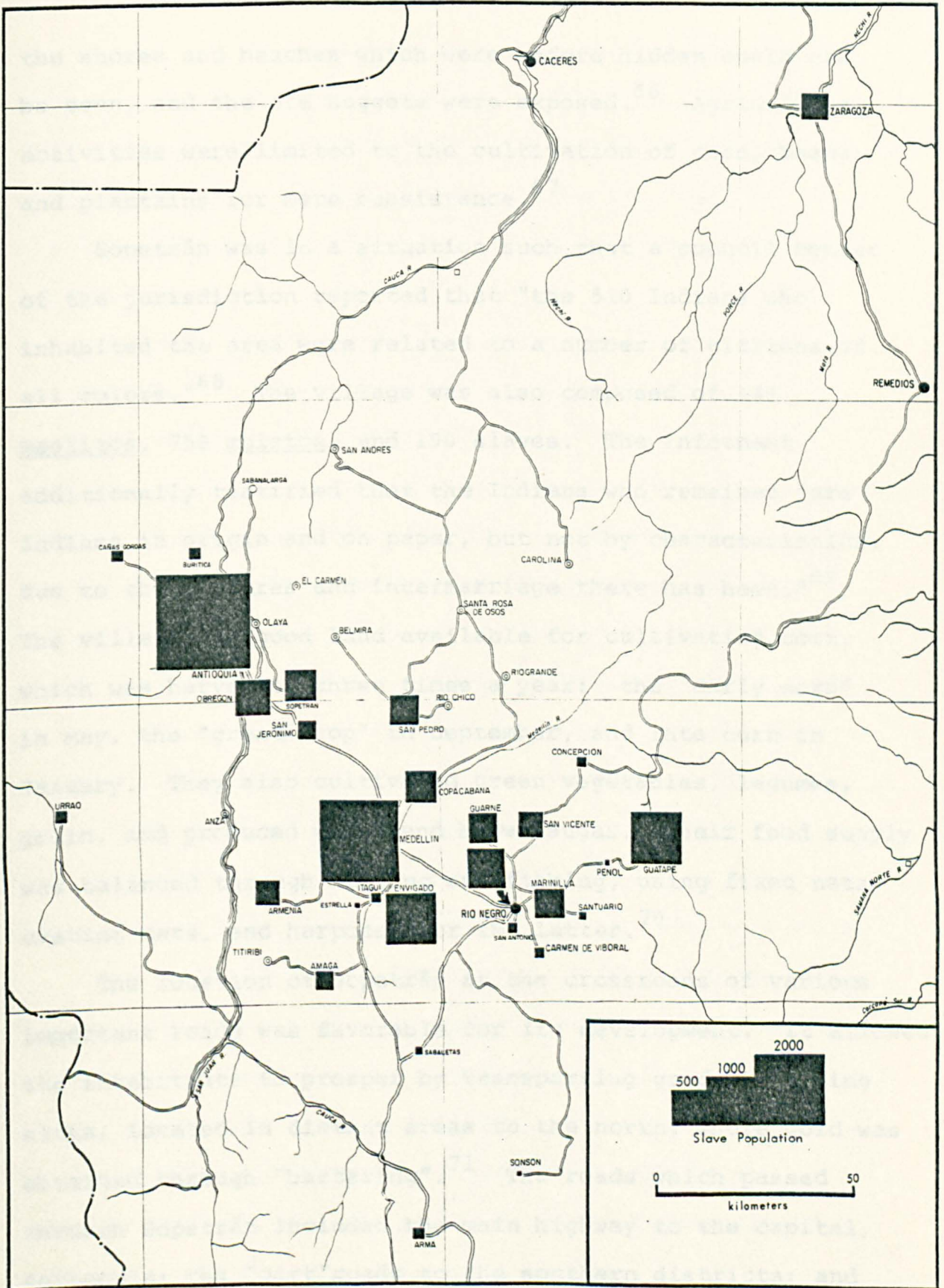


Figure 11. Distribution of slaves in Antioquia Province, 1808

the shores and beaches which were before hidden could now be seen, and the ore nuggets were exposed.⁶⁶ Agricultural activities were limited to the cultivation of corn, beans and plantains for mere subsistence.⁶⁷

Sopetrán was in a situation such that a council member of the jurisdiction reported that "the 510 Indians who inhabited the area were related to a number of citizens of all colors."⁶⁸ The village was also composed of 449 mestizos, 750 mulatos, and 190 slaves. The informant additionally testified that the Indians who remained "are Indians in origin and on paper, but not by characteristics, due to the mixtures and intermarriage there has been."⁶⁹ The village had good land available for cultivating corn, which was harvested three times a year: the "early corn" in May, the "great crop" in September, and late corn in January. They also cultivated green vegetables, legumes, grain, and produced white and brown sugar. Their food supply was balanced through hunting and fishing, using fixed nets, casting nets, and harpoons for the latter.⁷⁰

The location of Sopetrán at the crossroads of various important roads was favorable for its development. It allowed its inhabitants to prosper by transporting goods to mining sites, located in distant areas to the north, where gold was obtained through "bartering".⁷¹ The roads which passed through Sopetrán included the main highway to the capital, Antioquia; the "cart"roads to the southern districts; and

the highway to the high-altitude mineral deposits, where "the transporters took goods to the mines of San Jacinto, Río Chico, Río Grande, Yarumal, and others."⁷² There existed wayside stations (tambos) to accomodate the needs of travellers during the journey, in spite of James Parsons',⁷³ contrary opinion.

In 1808, Buriticá had 729 Indians, 430 free men, and 25 slaves, who, in accordance with the tradition in the town, were dedicated to working in the mines, at sites located in different regions, and throughout which the working population was dispersed. The site called Tesorero, on the Cauca, was a ranching area one hour away from Buriticá. Tabacal was another, situated to the north; and Hugumé was a hilly area where gold was found in vein ore bodies. The extracted mineral permitted the inhabitants to supply themselves with their daily needs, and inasmuch as the land was very arid, they had to get almost everything from outside the area. The Indians were also able to easily pay their annual tribute to the king, thanks to the gold they mined.⁷⁴

San Pedro, a place of old mines, had a population in 1808 of 289 whites, 2847 mestizos, mulatos and blacks, and 176 male and female slaves. The inhabitants combined their mining activities with agriculture. They worked in the placer mines, cultivated corn and edible roots, going from one place to another; they also maintained "underground but not above ground"⁷⁵ vegetable gardens.

As the colonial period drew to a close the oldest towns were reduced to mere miserable villages. In Zaragoza, the residents lived all along the Calle Real, the main thoroughfare, which contained a mere ten dwellings. Other than these houses the "city" had two alleys (callejones) and a small plaza. In 1808 Zaragoza was reported as having some 114 houses and a total population of 1552, of which 80% were variously colored freemen, and the majority of the remainder slaves.⁷⁶ Cáceres had only 47 houses with roofs of straw and walls of split cane, built along the two streets that formed the town.⁷⁷ Its population totaled 734 of which only two percent were whites, 67% were pardos and negros, and some 30% slaves.⁷⁸

As for Remedios it was described as a desolate settlement--its houses roofed with thatch for "tiles were not known in this place which had some dwellings so sorry-looking that they would have better been called caves."⁷⁹ The residents of this settlement were categorized as "oscura plebe", and doubt was cast upon the status of the two alleged blancos who lived there. Guamoco had ceased to officially exist as a "city" for more than a century.⁸⁰

Marinilla town and Rionegro included, by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, an important class of blancos. By 1803 Marinilla's white population accounted for 32%, with a mere 15% slaves. Rionegro, with 2564 inhabitants, had 22% blancos and 23% slaves. In both settlements

the balance of population was accounted for by various colored groups.

Medellín, with whom Santa Fe de Antioquia had begun to assume a position of rivalry for several administrative functions, had a population of just over 13,000 by 1801, accounted for by 29% blancos, and 21% slaves, the remainder being coloreds and freemen.⁸¹

The population map of Antioquia experienced important modifications in the spatial distribution of the population nuclei in the second half of the eighteenth century. The blank spaces begin to fill with symbols which indicate the establishment of settlements. In a similar way, something very significant took place in the dynamic process of the population, in the way of the growing metamorphosis of the different ethnic groups, which throughout the colonial period conformed to the demographic characteristics of Antioquia. The mestizo influence was a determining factor in this process which, by mixing into the groups of patrons, servants and slaves, contributed to the development with its own characteristics to the socio-economic physiognomy of the city and its region in the eighteenth century.

ENDNOTES

1. Robledo, op. cit., p. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 36.
3. Ibid., p. 31.
4. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, dated 20, April 1583.
5. Luis Lopez Mesa, "Análisis e interpretación del pueblo Antioqueño," in El Pueblo Antioqueño, Colección Academia Antioqueña, No. 19, 1972, p. 6.
6. Antonio Vasquez de Espinoza, Compendio y Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, 1628 (Bogota, 1942 edn.), p. 335.
7. Relaciones de Maando, Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, (Bogotá, 1910), Vol. IV, Chap. VIII, p. 240. A Real Cédula of Carlos III ordered that the Spaniards, mestizos and dispersed indios form populations, they be given provisionment and they be taught skills. ANBC, Policía, Vol. IV, fols. 11-14, "Real Cédula on settlements," dated 1665.
8. Estansilao Gómez Barrientos, "Españoles en Antioquia," in Colección Academia Antioqueña de Historia (1972), No. 19, p. 7.
9. Ibid.
10. López de Mesa, "Análisis y Interpretación del pueblo Antioqueño," in Colección Academia Antioqueña de Historia (1972), No. 19, p. 19.
11. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. XIII, Expte. 13, "Consulta del gobernador Facundo Guerra Calderón con motivo de una posible invasión del enemigo inglés," dated 11 April, 1724.
12. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2527, "Estado general de la provincia de Antioquia: Eclesiástico, Político y Militar," dated 1759.
13. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 357, Expte. 7001, dated 14 Oct., 1757.
14. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2527, fol. 78, "Estado general de la provincia de Antioquia," dated 1759.
15. Monografía de Antioquia, Cervecería Union, 1940, p. 57.

16. AHAM, Estadística y censo, Vol. 333, Expte. 6349, "Orden del Señor Virrey . . ." dated 1767.
17. Angel Uribe, *op. cit.* In 1770 in the province there were 1462 negros, in 1778, 4896 negros and 10 years later, 4296 negros. B.M. ADD. MS. 13974; Eduardo Posada, La esclavitud en Colombia (Bogota, 1833), p. 18.
18. AHAM, Estadística, Vol. 333, Expte. 6349, "Expediente dirigida al Virrey . . . naturaleza de ellos," dated 1767.
19. *Ibid.*
20. AHAM, Miscelánea, Vol. 577, Expte. 9179, dated 14 Sept., 1777.
21. See D. J. Robinson, "The Analysis of Eighteenth Century Spanish American Cities: Some Problems and Alternative Solutions," Syracuse University, Geography Department, Discussion Paper No. 4, 1975, pp. 31-35.
22. AHAM, Miscelánea, Vol. 577, Expte. 9179; dated 14 Sept., 1777.
23. AHAM, Miscelánea, Vol. 577, Expte. 9179, fol. 85, dated 14 Sept., 1777. Jose M. Restrepo, Historia de la Revolución de Colombia (Bogotá), p. 395.
24. ANBC, Censos Varios, Vol. VI, fols. 483-492, dated 1777. Sabanalarga had 542 Indians; Sopetrán, 364; and the settlement of Buriticá had 368 Indians.
25. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Estado dado por el cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia," dated 1759.
26. Parsons, op. cit., p. 54.
27. ANBC, Colonia, Hospitales y Cementerios, Vol. IV, fol. 675, "Estado del Padrón que comprende el numero de matrimonios, almas de las ciudades, villas y lugares de la provincia, signed by Francisco Silvestre, dated 1784. This document forms a part of a report on the utility and benefits that might accrue from such an establishment.
28. Ibid., the census corresponds the fulfillment of a superior dispatch which includes the Cedula Real of the 26th day of July of that same year.
29. Ibid.

30. AHAM, Vol. 588, Expte. 9335, "Don Alejo Cano y Don Valero Ramon Uruburu, alcaldes ordinarios de esta ciudad de Antioquia y su jurisdicción," dated 28 March, 1783.
31. Ibid.
32. ANBC, Negros y esclavos de Antioquia, Vol. I, fol. 885, "Remate de una negra en subasta pública en 75 pesos de oro o sea 150 patacones," dated Feb., 1774.
33. Jaramillo Uribe, op. cit., p. 21.
34. AHAM, Vol. 438, Expte. 8331; Vol. 439, Expte. 8335; Vol. 466, Expte. 8387.
35. ANBC, Poblaciones Varias, Vol. X, fols. 456, 533, 540, 541-544, "El gobernador da cuenta a V.C. del adelantamiento de las cuatro nuevas poblaciones," dated 23 Feb., 1790; Poblaciones Varias, Vol. IV, fol. 808, "Fundación de una nueva población," dated 1 Feb., 1790.
36. ANBC, Poblaciones Varias, Vol. IV, fol. 808, "Fundación de una nueva población," dated 1 Feb., 1790. It was about the vecinos of the villa of Medellín: Joaquin Barrientos, Placido Misa Iglesias, among who they distributed the lands.
37. Ibid., fol. 809-809v, Dn. Balthazar de Salazar, Dn. Alonso de Jaramillo, Dn. Fco. Angel de la Calle, Dn. Javier de Salgado.
38. Ibid. According to the geographer and historian Uribe Angel, "the abundance of wood, alluvions and auriferous pits and benign climate in her greater part," were important factors.
39. Ibid. Yarumal is situated at 2300 meters above sea level (18C). The municipality of Carolina has some 74 square kilometers in the tierra templada and 44 in the tierra fria zone. Don Matias' 155 square kilometers total was divided into 61 square kilometers in the tierra templada and 94 square kilometers in the tierra fria climatic zone.
40. Uribe Angel, op. cit., p. 222 states that in her beginnings, due to the lack of corn which was so great, for the almud of corn and the arroba of small biscuits were obtained for two castellanos of gold, and the most common provisionment was taken from the honey of bees gathered in the trunk of the trees.

41. ANBC, Poblaciones Varias, Vol. I, fol. 815v. It is referring to the group of capable miners, Restrepos, Barrientos, Echeverría, who temporarily would go out in search of gold. Uribe Angel, op. cit., (1805), p. 202.
42. ANBC, Poblaciones Varias, Vol. IV, dated 25 Jan., 1790.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, Expte. 1971, "Orden superior y diligencias practicadas sobre las tres caminos de Ayapel, Urrao y Palagua," dated 1778.
47. ANBC, Poblaciones Varias, Vol. IV, dated 25 Jan., 1790.
48. ANBC, Miscelánea, Vol. 99, dated 1790.
49. Restrepo, op. cit., p. 51. "The mine owners of the cuadrillas were very few in Antioquia, and he who had more would reach to 100, in sum five-sixths of the workers were mazamorreros."
50. Vicente Restrepo, Estudio sobre las minas de Oro y Plata de Colombia (Bogotá, 1962), pp. 42-43.
51. AHAM, Minas, Vol. 354, Expte. 6649, "List of Mazamorreros of San Jacinto, Petacas, Santa Rosa," dated 1793; Expte. 6650, "List of Miners of Carolina del Príncipe, Riochico, Petacas, Santa Rosa, San Luis de Gongora, Río Grande," dated 1793.
52. Ibid.
53. Restrepo, op. cit., p. 49; and Tirado Mejia, op. cit., p. 40.
54. Parsons, op. cit., p. 202.
55. Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, "Sucinta relación de la visita de Antioquia, 1787-1788," Anales de la Instrucción Pública de Colombia (Bogotá, 1890), Vol. XVI, pp. 21-64, 216-224, 267-280, noted in Parsons, op. cit., p. 42. ANBC, Visitas de Antioquia, Vol. I, "Información del Oidor Visitador de la Provincia de Antioquia, Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde," 1787, fols. 985-998; ANBC, Miscelánea, Vol. 7, fols. 564-571, dated 1786.

56. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 98, Expte. 2589, "Estado administrativo de Antioquia," dated 1786.
57. ANBC, Miscelánea, Vol. 99, dated 1798; Vol. 334, Expte. 6414, dated 22 Jan., 1798.
58. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 333, Expte. 6349, "Expediente dirigida al Virrey . . . naturaleza de ellos," dated 1767.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., fols. 459-467. The job of Escribano was undertaken by the mestizo Carlos Joseph de Garro.
61. Ibid. In the data the population of Tonusco Arriba was included which were accompanied by 376 inhabitants, who in the majority were mestizos.
62. Ibid. This census should be treated with extreme care for in it there are several errors of addition.
63. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 333, Expte. 6367, dated 1808; Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Expediente sobre Antioquia y su jurisdicción, dated 1808.
64. "The negro slave played an important role in the artesanal works such as carpentry, shoemakers, peddling food, domestic administration and direction of mining cuadrillas," Jaramillo Uribe, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
65. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Testimonio del Expediente formado por Orden del Senor Virrey del Reino, dated 1808.
66. Ibid. To the west of the settlements, at three days walk in distance, were located the old mine workings of Murri.
67. Ibid., The valley of Murri considered as "the country of Guaca," was discovered by Francisco César, was bathed in its upper regions by the waters of the Río Penderisco. Uribe Angel, op. cit., (1885), pp. 253-54. It is located in the western slopes of the Cordillera Occidental, east of the Río Atrato.
68. Ibid., The settlement was situated at 754 meters above sea level, had a temperature which "nor does it cause any damage with the cold, nor does it suffocate with the heat" (2da. question).
69. Ibid. Referring to the populations of San Luis de Gongora (Yarumal), San Antonio del Infante (Don Matias), Carolina, Riochico, Río Grande, and Santa Rosa, etc.

70. Ibid. Response to the second question. The atarraya was a net for fishing which those inhabitants used in rivers, streams, swamps or lakes with little depth.
71. Ibid., where they rework for gold and coins.
72. Ibid., Note.
73. Ibid. "Before arriving at the settlements, with dispersement, there are inns (tambos) and huts for lodging for passersby," Sopetrán, 4 May, 1808. Parsons, op. cit., "the tambos (roadside inns) were unknown in Antioquia," p. 171.
74. Ibid. Antioquia was known as "Castilla de Oro" for her auriferous richness but the lack of water which was responsible for the aridness of the surrounding districts was a fundamental factor for her poverty once the exploitation of gold had collapsed and when their inhabitants searched in the weaving of hats made of straw of iraca, the means of subsistence. Uribe Angel, op. cit., p. 250.
75. Ibid., Ospina Tulio, The Antioquean Population: Six Different Studies by Reknowned Authors, No. 19, 1972. "As none of the conquerors and settlers had been formerly consecrated to agriculture, whose delayed results had settled them in such ungrateful lands, with the conquest, no improvement was introduced in the systems of cultivation of the aboriginals; for a long time they continued stubbing with macanas, as if iron did not exist," p. 28.
76. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Informe al Virrey," dated 1808.
77. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, vol. 336, Expte. 6461, "Informe rendido por Miguel Salgado Durán," 1803
78. Ibid.
79. AHAM, Empleos, vol. 98, Expte. 2609, "Informe de Don Pantaleón Arango," Medellín, 2 Nov., 1795.
80. Its status as a ciudad was officially terminated by a Real Cedula. See AHAM, Reales Minas de Guamoco, Expte. 1690, "El Procurador General de Guamoco testiguía el abandono de la ciudad," dated 1664.
81. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 335, Expte. 6432, "Cuatro Estadística de la Villa de Nra. Señora de la Candelaria de Medellín y su jurisdicción," dated 1801.

CHAPTER VII

URBAN FUNCTIONS

Regional functional characteristics

The province of Antioquia was a political-administrative entity of a regional order within the territorial system of the colonies. By 1759 the cities of Antioquia, the capital and seat of the provincial government, the town of Medellín, and the cities of Cáceres, Zaragoza, Arma, and Remedios were included under its jurisdiction. The last two had only recently become part of the province.

The city of Antioquia, although the political capital of the province, did not perform all of the functions of a capital. It has been argued that one of the reasons for its backwardness was the lack of overall unification and centralization of the regional functions. As it was, its economic and ecclesiastic functions were shared and interfered with by other provinces. The fiscal function only served the town of Medellín, the valleys of Río Negro and San José de Marinilla, the area of Copacabana and the areas and mining sites of Osos, Petacas, and San Jacinto under its jurisdiction at that time.¹ The city of Remedios, in contrast, with the areas of Cancán, Yolombo, and San Bartolomé, depended on the Royal Treasury of Santa Fe, to whose Treasury

the officials in charge of administration had to send revenues. The cities of Cáceres and Zaragoza, in a like manner, did not depend on Antioquia for fiscal management and had to turn over their entire revenues to the Treasury in Mompox, in the jurisdiction of Cartagena (Figure 12).²

Insofar as the ecclesiastic functions were concerned, the province of Antioquia shared them with the dioceses of Cartagena, Santa Fé de Bogotá, and Popayán. The curato of Cáceres³ was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Cartagena; Remedios and Zaragoza were part of that of Santa Fe, and the rest were part of the jurisdiction of Popayán.

Rather than solving the problems arising from the isolation caused by distance and other geographical factors, the existing peculiarities in regard to the function of Antioquia and the cities under its jurisdiction were accentuated. It should be kept in mind, however, that the desire of the authorities to maintain an effective control over production and income from gold mining, which came from these mining cities, was the determining factor in the decentralization of these important functions at the regional level.

The origins of functions

The first function of the city of Antioquia in the territory was governmental or political. During its foundation ceremony, upon burying the picota, the right to exercise political power in the region in the name of the king of

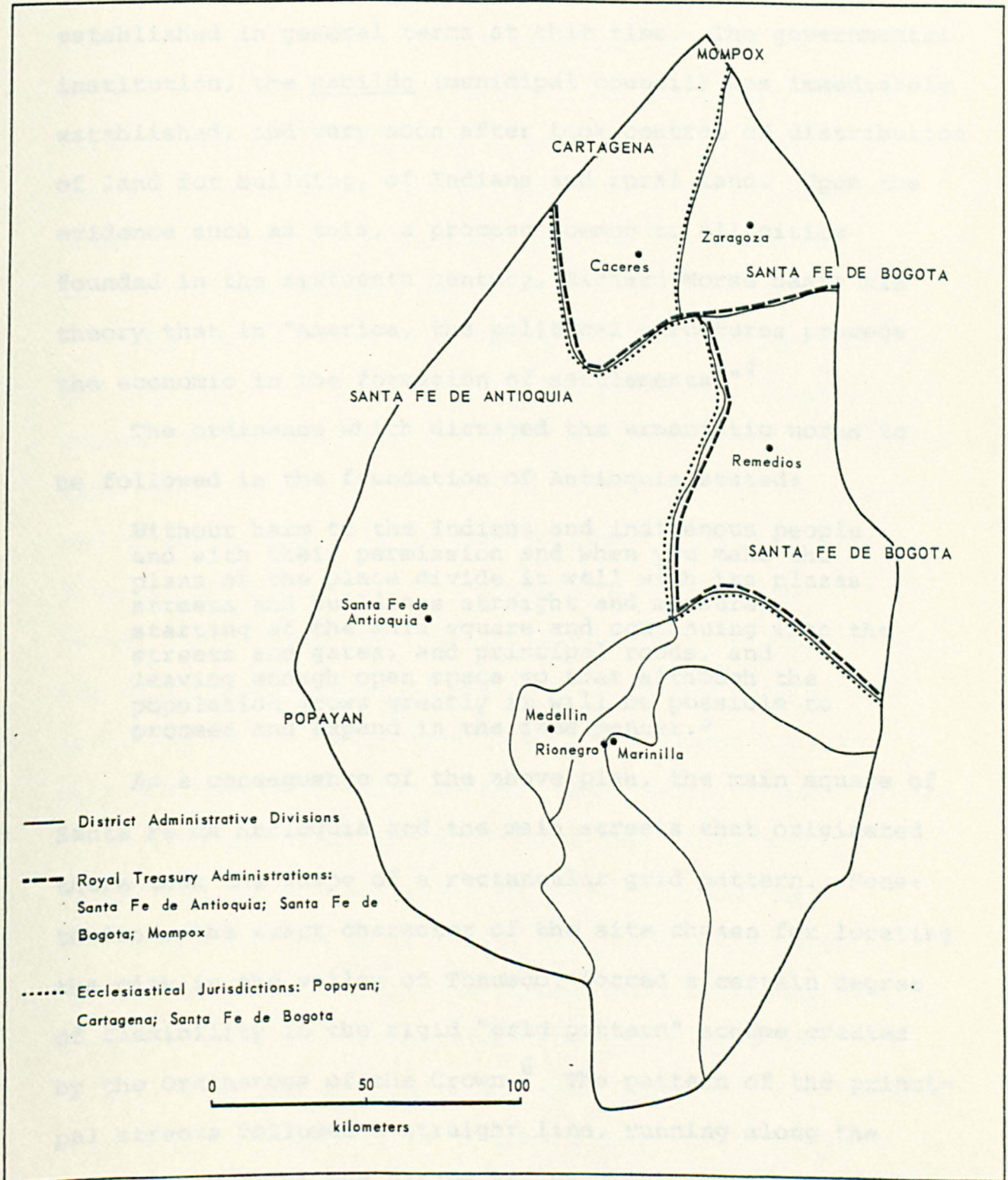


Figure 12. Jurisdictional limits in Antioquia Province

Spain was established. The extensive rural area over which the new group of Spaniards would have jurisdiction was also established in general terms at that time. The governmental institution, the cabildo (municipal council) was immediately established, and very soon after took control of distribution of land for building, of Indians and rural land. Upon the evidence such as this, a process common to all cities founded in the sixteenth century, Richard Morse bases his theory that in "America, the political structures precede the economic in the formation of settlements."⁴

The ordinance which dictated the urbanistic norms to be followed in the foundation of Antioquia stated:

Without harm to the Indians and indigenous people and with their permission and when you make the plans of the place divide it well with its plazas, streets and buildings straight and measured, starting at the main square and continuing with the streets and gates, and principal roads, and leaving enough open space so that although the population grows greatly it will be possible to proceed and expand in the same manner.⁵

As a consequence of the above plan, the main square of Santa Fe de Antioquia and the main streets that originated there took the shape of a rectangular grid pattern. Nonetheless, the exact character of the site chosen for locating the city in the valley of Tonusco, forced a certain degree of flexibility in the rigid "grid pattern" scheme created by the Ordinances of the Crown.⁶ The pattern of the principal streets followed a straight line, running along the east-west axis of the narrow valley. The locations of the

respective buildings of the public powers were determined as the base of the pattern of the square and the streets, which may be the urban legacy of greatest significance that Spain gave to America. Afterward, the concession of the urban lots for the building of housing for citizens of the town was arranged, each person receiving a lot the location of which was directly related to his status and role in the colonial enterprise.⁷

The location and the time period (almost the middle of the sixteenth century) in which Antioquia was founded, conferred upon it the primary function on the gateway to discovery, exploration, and occupation of the region. It also had to accept the role of mission center, forcing the warlike indigenous tribes of the region into submission. This latter function determined the insecurity of Antioquia during its first years, since it was located in the middle of the territory of various tribes, and, as a consequence, the citizens had to protect the settlement and it became necessary to fulfill important military functions, which came to characterize the first years in the city's history.⁸

Stability was achieved for the incipient nucleus of a Spanish population and an available labor force was assured once the Indians had submitted. The conquerors could do nothing with the land conferred upon them, not even feel that they truly owned it, if they did not have the labor force to work it. It was necessary, therefore, that the

city take charge of the distribution of the dispersed Indian population and exercise effective control over them. This was done by means of the "encomienda" system whereby Indians were allotted to certain individuals who theoretically were commended to protect and care for their wards. Some of these allotments made from the city of Santa Fé de Antioquia included populations of Indians who lived up to 13 and 14 leagues (65-70 kilometers) from the city.⁹

The commission of the encomienda granted by the Spanish Crown gave the urban population certain responsibilities, such as protecting and indoctrinating the native inhabitants. In turn, the encomenderos enforced a gamut of obligations, from clearing land and sowing seed in the country to provide food for the city-dwellers, to heavy mining work and other labor to which reference has already been made. Responsibilities unfulfilled by the Spaniards and obligations painfully met by the indigenous peoples established a type of relationship between them which institutionalized, from that time forward, social discrimination against the Indian.

The city of Antioquia, aside from distributing Indians and granting urban parcels to the citizens, also functioned to divide land in the rural areas. They followed the regulations set forth by the Ordinance of Discovery, New Population, and Pacification of the Indies to accomplish this. The ordinance clearly defines two specific types of land grants, the caballería and peonía. The latter was

a plot fifty feet in width and 100 in length,
 100 fanegas (1.6 bushels) crop of wheat or barley,
 two of corn, two heubras of land for a vegetable
 garden and eight for other plants or trees,
 pasture for ten pigs, 20 cows and
 100 sheep and 20 goats.¹⁰

The Laws of the Indies set forth that the above be granted to the peons and to fort soldiers. The parcel given to members of the higher status group (caballería) was defined as a plot for a house 100 feet wide and 200 feet long, as well as working land meeting the same specifications as that of the peons multiplied by five. Such a privilege was granted to the "señores de caballo", the captains.¹¹

Land in Antioquia did not have the same value as in other regions, due to the great mineral wealth. The mines constituted the most important and direct objective for land use. Added to that was the fact that the majority of the rural population worked in mineral extraction. Agricultural production was quite small. The possession of encomiendas and mines was intimately related in the sixteenth and even the seventeenth centuries. The land and its riches were "regalías" (privileges) of the crown,¹² and the mining operations followed the Crown's orders until the passing of the ordinances by Gaspar de Rodas, which regulated mining activity, until almost the end of the colonial period. The Ordinance decreed that

le concedemos las minas de oro y plata y otros
 mineros y salinas y pesquerías de perla que
 ovviere en el dicho con tanto que del oro y
 plata perla y todo lo demas que sacaren de los
 dichos metales y minas el tal poblador y los

moradores del dicho pueblo a otro cualquiera persona, den lo que sacaren otro de toda costa.¹³

There was a common distinction made in Antioquia in regard to land use. The grazing land, which was that land utilized for the maintenance of small and large livestock, was given over to the upper class. Some of the prosperous citizens established their country houses (quintas) on this land, which was then used for recreation in the country. The other type was working land, commonly called "bread lands," i.e. cultivable with crops. These were, due to the countryside of Antioquia, in the mountains and were used for sowing and occasional use or as plots on which grain was grown for their regular use.¹⁴

In its early years Antioquia also functioned as the center of territorial expansion on the east bank of the Cauca, where other nuclei of Spanish population were established. The activities there were not limited to supplying goods for survival, as some citizens established themselves there permanently and organized local governments.

It should be noted that the centrifugal force exercised by the city of Antioquia over the rural areas determined the pattern of expansion into the countryside and concentrated the means of production into the hands of a privileged group of whites.

With regard to the previously mentioned functions, by demonstrating its urban primacy in the region and falling

economically within the shadow of the mineral-rich hills of Buriticá, Antioquia was designated the provincial administrative center with well-defined functions. It became the seat of political, economic, ecclesiastical and military power in the region. Antioquia was, therefore, the residence of the governor, with important military responsibilities, and that of the officials of the Treasury and the head of the Catholic church of the province.¹⁵ As capital Santa Fe de Antioquia's magistrates numbered twelve.

The circumstance of being the seat of government of a mining region determined some unique and particular characteristics, such as temporarily modifying some functional authority upon the contingencies of mining production, or indeed moving the highest authorities' residence to the urban mining center considered most convenient according to its economic prosperity.

Fiscal function

The fiscal function of the city of Antioquia was established with the creation of the Treasury and the Casa de Fundición (Royal Smelter). The Treasury was initially subordinate to that of Cali in the province of Popayán, but it became independent when the city became the provincial capital. The Treasury of Antioquia was responsible for the centralization of all obligations within its jurisdiction, which came in the form of tariffs on production and consumer articles as well as taxes charged on the native population.

As a consequence, with this institution in charge of collecting contributions from the rural areas, the city became the intermediary of the economic flows established between the rural activities and the metropolis. That is to say that the privileged citizens of the capital city reaped the benefits of the activity between the producers of riches and the Crown. The Treasury aided in this way the establishment of the characteristics of the urban-rural relationship in the colonies, a relationship which, according to Agustín Blanco Muñoz,¹⁶ was not merely "ecological-demographic." This relationship gave rise to the cities of the time being characterized "as being the physical space that this elite sector controlled to obtain the highest level of comfort and well-being," enjoying the fruits of the human and natural resources in the rural areas. To this can be added that these were also the best means of aiding and enriching the royal coffers, thus producing a highly effective dualism of colonial control.

The rate of revenues entering into the Royal Treasury allows one to understand the economic importance of the city in the region and to monitor the citizens' wealth to a certain degree. The expenditures of the Treasury in Antioquia were greatly reduced--effectively limited to the salaries of the governor and royal officials.¹⁷ The remaining revenues were all forwarded to the Crown. The royal officials were in service directly to the Crown and were

obliged to carefully protect its economic interests. In the Ordinances for the Discovery, New Population, and Pacification of Indies of 1573, it was mandated that any new populations founded "have in their administrations three officials of the Office of the Exchequer,"¹⁸ and with respect to any investment they could bring about, it was ordered that:

no new discovery, new sea exploration, or settlement will be made at the expense of the exchequer, nor may those who govern spend funds in such activity, although they have our authorization and instructions to make discoveries and sea explorations, unless they are granted special permission to undertake such activity at our expense.¹⁹

In accordance with the above, the officials of Antioquia were charged with collecting directly or indirectly²⁰ the revenues of the Treasury, and in turn remit them to Spain through Cartagena or Santa Fe de Bogotá. The Royal Smelter, on the other hand, was charged with the task of testing quality and smelting the "gold dust", and then to distribute the bars obtained, marking those which belonged to the metropolis with the royal stamp.

Before the foundation of the urban centers, the first role of the Antioqueño region to the royal treasury was in the form of providing the "fifths" (quintos), a tax from products which came from the native burial tombs and treasures.²¹ In the early years after the inception of the Treasury, the only significant role was the supplying of the quintos taken from the mines in the jurisdiction of Antioquia

by rural workers. A new series of duties and tariffs are to be found in the records of the Exchequer after 1590. These were put into effect by Governor Antonio Gonzalez in order to increase the supply of gold sent to Spain. These new tariffs additionally met the objective of limiting the economic power of the citizens, thereby reducing the acquisitional capacity of the city. These changes were, thus, far from responding to a desire to solve the problems and meet the needs of the city and its inhabitants. Instead they were sent to Spain to satisfy some new economic need there.

By the institution of new taxes, which were usually collected in Antioquia, there were quintos, diezmos, duties of imports and exports, taxes on slave sales, sales of ecclesiastical offices, penalties of fines in the court, excises, archaepiscopal quarter, the escobilla (from silver sweepings), and certain contributions such as "gratuitous service to the king," for example, for a specific war.²²

The taxes on the "fifths" that the miners of Antioquia paid were subject to a different form of valuation, as a consequence of the constant demand in the city. As a reason to cut tax reduction or the postponement of the payments, it was argued by many that the land was very poor and that it was necessary to acquire blacks to work the mines. The concession of this allowance was given on a temporary basis varying from four to 20 years.²³ The granting made it

mandatory for the citizens to undertake new mining enterprises, which would result in greater revenues for the Royal Treasury.

The "fifths" paid by the town of Santa Fe de Antioquia in 1583, while still a dependency of Popayán, were really a "tithe" (10%) on the production of gold. Cáceres and Zaragoza, already within the limits of the gobernación paid a twentieth (5%). This was due to the fact that Gaspar de Rodas arranged the benefit for the cities that he founded. Antioquia was granted the fifteenth (7%) in 1598; and by 1666, it had been conceded the twentieth (5%). In 1672 these collections equalled 4650 pesos,²⁴ a truly insignificant total. When this concession was made, it was made clear that gold was not included, it being cash "because on this a and on pearls and stones the entire fifth should be charged."²⁵

The business community of the city, whether resident there, traders, or travelling merchants, were required to be registered and keep a manifest of all goods and merchandise they introduced for sale. They were obliged to pay several taxes such as alcabala, and sisá. The royal officials made this assessment and they themselves stipulated that it be paid in smelted gold dust, received from their sales, which was then minted in the city. Between 1750 and 1759 the traders owed the Treasury at Antioquia 7725 gold pesos, for not having the dust minted and for being unable to pay the

the taxes.²⁶ The officials testified during this period that they had not been able to collect the revenues. Some debtors and their guarantors were not present and some did not pay as a result of absolute poverty which came as a consequence of "lack of minerals" or lack of a sufficient slave labor force.²⁷ They were at this time granted new repayment plans. The royal officials were also charged with collecting the quintos from the mine managers, while they named other receivers to collect the quinto and excises from the miners and mazamorreros that lived in the mining settlements of the region.

The alcabala was the tax levied on the sale of movable and immovable goods with a percentage charge on the transaction. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century a staff specifically dedicated to this task was maintained which had grown to nine persons by 1789.

The diezmo was a severe tax imposed on animal raising and fruits and vegetables and was used for expenses of the Church.²⁸ Its payment was made by the faithful, and like the taxes noted above, it originated in the rural areas, inasmuch as it was there that agricultural and pecuniary activities were centered. During the visita of Mon y Velarde (1787-88) the tithes of Santa Fe de Antioquia reached 6160 castellanos, those of Medellín 6200, Ríonegro 6000, Remedios 640 and those of both Cáceres and Zaragoza did not exceed 500 castellanos.²⁹ The full amount of these church taxes

was sent to Popayán, since the city of Antioquia and others in the province were within that ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The tributo was a tax on the Indian population. It was a permanent revenue in Antioquia, although in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it did not constitute such a significant amount for the Crown as it did in other regions. The encomenderos were the principal beneficiaries of this tax during those centuries since the Royal Treasury received tribute solely from the anaconas (or non-locals) in the city.³⁰ After the second half of the eighteenth century the revenues taken in tribute collection experienced an appreciable increase since all of the tribute-paying population was under the Crown.³¹ As can be seen (Table 15) the increase of the tribute-paying population revealed in the census of 1808 is particularly notable when compared with the figures compiled in 1756 by Governor Chaves.³² The latter census indicates that each able Indian paid six pesos of gold annually. The corregidores were those charged with tribute collection, a percentage of which they themselves kept as salary.

The sale of public offices constituted another important revenue for the Treasury of Antioquia until the seventeenth century, and fell primarily to the urban population. By 1624 such sales of offices brought very high prices. For the position of chief constable between eight and nine thousand pesos was paid.³³ A year later the positions of

Table 15. Tribute Population of Antioquia
Province, 1808.

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>INDIGENAS</u>	<u>TRIBUTARIOS</u>
Sopetrañ	514	99
Sabanalarga	464	141
Cañasgordas	172	41
Buriticá	543	107
La Estrella	523	109
San Antonio de Pereira	426	68
El Peñol	810	103
Sabaletas	237	60
TOTAL	3689	728

Source: ANBC, Censos Varios, Vol. 8, fol. 278, January 1, 1804.

Chief smelter and Assayer brought 13,000 gold pesos, and there were other similar examples.³⁴ By the middle of the eighteenth century the post of Depository General paid barely 200 gold pesos, that of fiel ejecutor 28 patacoons, and the positions of Chief Constable, Smelter and Assayer, like the rest of the offices for sale,³⁵ were unoccupied "for lack of bidders, although the opening had been announced publicly many times."³⁶ It was such that the Smelter in Antioquia would be unable to smelt or know the purity of the gold dust that it received and controlled.

The media annata and the penas de camara fell exclusively on the urban population since the city was the home of the public employees. The former was the payment of half of the

salary during the first year of service. The clergy was also subject to a similar tax.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, tobacco, cane spirits, gunpowder, and playing cards were established as Crown monopolies and thus revenue raisers. This signified that the Spanish state was the exclusive merchant of these products and that profit was maintained in accordance with the buying and selling price.³⁷ This system, although restricting the development of commercial and agricultural activity in the district, did not eliminate illegal commerce.³⁸ The official aguardiente market had been established in 1744, and rented for 90 gold pesos. However, unpaid accounts caused many obstacles in its efficient functioning.³⁹ The upper level civil servants in this bureau received a fixed salary, the rest of the employees took 6% of the annual collections. By the end of the colonial period, the administration of the aguardiente market of Antioquia had branches in twelve rural settlements.⁴⁰

The income derived from the monopoly merchandise was recorded in the warehouse in Juntas (for tobacco, playing cards, and aniseed) and in this way the royal interests or remittances (royal income) could be taken from the city of Antioquia to a main treasury in Santa Fe de Bogotá.⁴¹ To augment the bureaucratic apparatus that was to further control the revenues of the Royal Treasury, administrations were set up in the warehouses in Islitas (Nare), in the port

of Espíritu Santo, and in Juntas at the end of the colonial period.⁴²

The city of Antioquia was not the seat of the administration of the monopolies, nor was the postal system centered there. By this date the city of Medellín was considered a "more propitious place for its location, with more business and a larger population."⁴³ This was a deciding factor in Medellín's acquisition of certain administrative functions of the Royal Treasury in the province. Santa Fe de Antioquia in the meantime was losing its importance, caused by its weak economic structure dependent almost exclusively upon mineral extraction. Another factor in its loss of importance was its geographic location in the western part of the region, on the far bank of the Río Cauca, and off the principal commercial route of the eighteenth century.

Commercial function

The city of Antioquia was a center for products imported from Spain, from the new empire, and from Mariquita, Popayán, and Quito. The local establishments guaranteed the urban population the provision of a variety of merchandise, including foodstuffs acquired from small growers near the city. Some of the well-to-do inhabitants of the city had country houses in the surrounding areas where they grew cacao trees, sugar cane, plantain, corn, manioc, and some grain, while at the same time raising cattle. Products went to the markets of the city and to Medellín and other

areas of the region, except in periods of shortage, when this was prohibited.⁴⁴

The shops of the city sold a great variety of merchandise, luxury items, such as Spanish cloth, most destined for consumption by the principal families and some authorities of the high administrative hierarchy, with a minor part intended for the common people. The businesses in the city of Antioquia were generally in the hands of whites. It was exclusively a men's profession, although there is one curious piece of evidence on a businesswoman, an importer, who maintained a family business after the death of her husband.⁴⁵ In the list of businessmen owing money from 1750-1759, the greater part of the names were from the upper class of the population, although some mestizos actively participated in importation. Some very illustrious Antioquian names are found in this document, such as Mejia, Uribe, Restrepo, and Robledo.

Another commercial system existed, controlled by a group of merchants who were established in rural areas and imported directly, avoiding any commercial contact with the city. By 1763 some traders existed in the valley of San Andrés. They were primarily white, with one mestizo, and one very fair-skinned mestizo.⁴⁶

Among the merchants of the valley of Antioquia there existed cases such as that of the mestizo Rafael Olguín, who in spite of appearing in the lists of businessmen with

unpaid debts in 1757 and 1758, is also listed as an importer in the merchant register of Mompox dated 1763.⁴⁷ Some of the products he imported for his business in the valley of San Andrés were linens, coboncobos, and rock salt.⁴⁸ This type of small scale business was also carried on by the Jesuit priests, who imported merchandise to cover expenses in their college, their estates and mines.⁴⁹ Among the articles they introduced, as recorded in a register of 1754, were jugs of wine from Spain, tobacco, flour, and rock salt.⁵⁰ This form of business did not benefit the city, while it did lower the potential of the city's commercial function, reducing contact between the city and the rural areas.

The estanco, the monopoly system for some products, had its own methods by control within the district. The products which came under the monopolies were: gunpowder, aguardiente, aniseed, playing cards, and tobacco. All were amply distributed in the rural areas around the city. They arrived in the warehouse at Juntas, were brought to the city, from where they were divided to be sent to San Gerónimo, Sacaojal, San Andrés, the valley of Urrao, Quebrada Seca, Tablaso, and to the villages of Buriticá, Cañasgordas, Sopetrán, and Sabanalarga.⁵¹ A dependent administration existed in the barrio of Santa Lucía, just as in the others noted above. The principal administration of the district was located in the city⁵² involving a fixed salary for the

officials and an office designated for the distribution of the products. In these places and in their secondary branches there was usually a house-cum-store (tienda-casa) for their sales.⁵³ For better control three administrations were established in the river ports of the province: Espíritu Santo, Juntas, and in the old warehouses of Las Islitas.

A commercial system distinct from those already mentioned also existed in the district which was that carried on by travelling salesmen or peddlers who almost continuously frequented the area of concentrated mining production. These merchants moved their wares about on mules, which they generally owned. The road which climbed into the higher reaches, through Sopetrán, was the principal artery for this type of business.⁵⁴ The urban inhabitants as well as the rural ones living on this route formed a way of life around this trafficking of merchandise. The muleteer played a very important role in this commercial method.

In the areas where agriculture was of greater importance than mining, the city constituted a good market for those products, which led to another form of commerce distinctive from those already described. For example, livestock raised by the inhabitants of Urrao came to market in the capital city. As Governor Silvestre reported in 1784, although agriculture had not experienced much development, the high value placed on those goods that were grown was reflected

in commercial transactions. In Antioquia ten gold castellanos per fanega of maize was not uncommon; leather, meat, rice and cacao all were extensively traded. The few roads and their poor state of repair necessarily restricted commercial exchange between the city and the rest of the population of the district. It could be argued that mining, rather than promoting links between city and country, by providing a stimulus to economic growth, reduced the possibility of urban-rural spatial integration.

Local functions

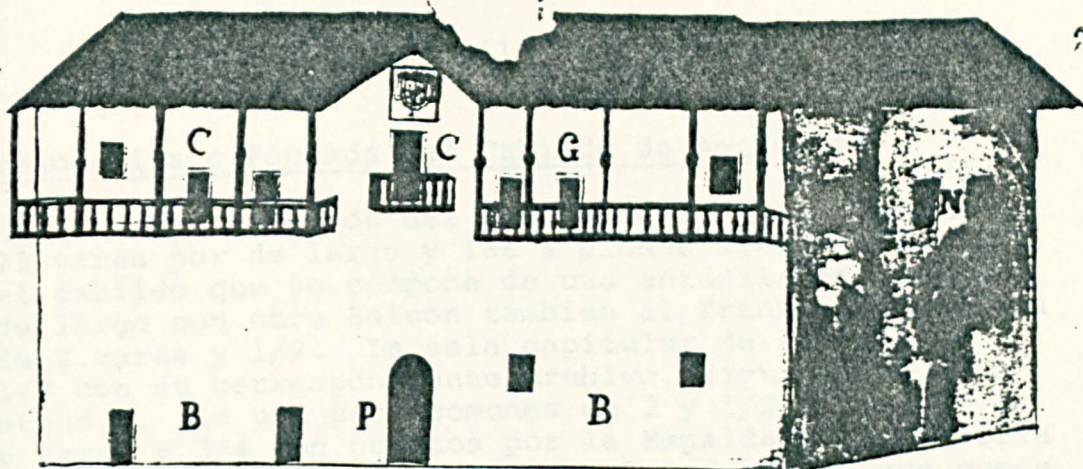
By the end of the colonial period the perimeter of the city's limits was calculated at 18 leagues (90 kilometers) which extended up to the territory of Sacaojal, at one league (5 kilometers) from the city, of the village of Cañasgordas at 1-1/3 leagues, that of Sopetrán at 1-2/3 and that of San Gerónimo at three leagues (15 kilometers).

The administration of the city of Antioquia authorized a Junta Comunal, or municipal council, whose function was to oversee the city's existence. The supply and maintenance of urban services in the community was one of its principal activities. The Procurador General had the obligation of informing the district corporation of all of the population's needs, so that the latter could find solutions to them. The junta or cabildo operated from their own specially constructed building located on the edge of the main plaza (Figure 13).

P.^L

49 Cuatro

270



PRESPECTIVA OFACHADA DEL CABILDO DE ANTIOQ.^A

C Manifesta el Balcon del Frente de la Plaza, que tiene 23. varas, y $\frac{1}{2}$ de largo, y las 4. piezas altas, que ocupa el Cabildo, que se componen de una Antecámara de 4. varas de larga, con otro Balcon tambien al Frente de la Plaza de 2. varas, y $\frac{1}{2}$. En ella Capitulare de 3. varas, y $\frac{1}{2}$, con su correspondiente Archivo, siguiendo a esta otras 2. En una parte Comunes de 2. y $\frac{1}{2}$, y la otra de 3. varas, y $\frac{1}{2}$, con Puertas por la Espalda a una Galeria, que tiene 27. varas de larga, y 4. y $\frac{1}{4}$ de ancha, que puede servir para prision de algun Víspero de tenencia.

G Manifesta la vivienda alta para los Gobernadores, que se compone de 6. piezas, con su correspondiente Balcon ala Plaza de 23. varas, y $\frac{1}{2}$ de largo, y su Galeria por la espalda de 34. y $\frac{1}{4}$.

N Es la vivienda alta, que sigue ala anterior, que se ha continuado, sobre la Carcel de las mugeres de 22. varas, y $\frac{1}{2}$, aprovechándose, y sirviéndose de las mismas Paredes, y Clavason para el Techo. del que tenia, y se desahuso, que son 3. piezas.

B Manifesta dos Veribambas, una pieza en el medio, para confesion de Escos, y sigue una en que habita el Alcaide 3. Calabozos, y 2. piezas para Carcel, con una Galeria por arriba de 30. varas de larga, y 4. y $\frac{1}{4}$ de ancha con un grande Patio, para recibo de los Presos.

S Manifesta la Capilla, que está sin concluir, que tiene 4. varas, y $\frac{1}{2}$ de ancha.

D Manifesta la Carcel de las mugeres, con 3. piezas, una Galeria, y Patio a la Espalda.

P Es la Puerta principal, que comunica ala Galeria alta, Patio y Carcel, y aun lino entre esta y la primer Puerta está la Escalera, que tambien sirve de las viviendas del Cabildo y Gobernador y la otra Puerta, que está ala Puerta, a la de la Carcel de mugeres.

Noia

Que las Veribambas, habitan en la alameda, y en el medio de confesion, y de las piezas que sirven de Carcel a hombres y mugeres componen 72. varas, y $\frac{1}{2}$ de largo. Y tiene una sala una pieza grande, que puede servir para prision de algun Víspero de tenencia con independencia de esta.

1. y 2. con Fernando Pardo Chavez.

Manuel de la Cruz

Figure 13. Perspective of the Cabildo of Santa Fe de Antioquia, 1790

Transcription of details on Figure 13

Prespectiva o Fachada del Cabildo de Antioquia

- CC Manifiesta el Balcón del Frente de la Plasa que tiene 23 varas por de largo y las 4 piasas altas que ocupa el cabildo que se compone de una antesala de 4 varas de largo con otro Balcon tambien al Frente de la Plasa de 2 varas y $1/2$. La sala capitular de 11 varas y $1/4$ con su correspondiente Archivo, siguiendo a esta otras 2. La una para comunes de 2 y $1/2$ y la otra de 6 varas y $3/4$ con puertos por la Espalda a una Galeria que tiene 27 varas de largo y $4-1/4$ de ancho que puede servir para prision de algun sujeto decente.
- G Manifiesta la vivienda alta para los gobernadoes que se compone de 3 piasas con su correspondiente balcon a la Plasa de 23 varas y $1/2$ de largo y su galeria por la espalda de 14 y $1/4$.
- N Es la vivienda alta que sigue a la anterior que se le ha continuado sobre la carcel de las mujeres de 22 varas y $1/2$ aprovechandose y sirviendose de las mismas texas maderas y clarason para el techo del que tenia y se deshiso que son tres piasas.
- BB Manifiesta dos Escribanías, una piasa en el medio para confesiones de Reos, y se sigue una en que havita el Alcaide 3 calabosos y 2 piasas para carceles con una galeria por atras de 50 varas de larga y 4 y $1/4$ de ancha con un grande patio para desaogo de los presos.
- S Manifiesta la capilla, que esta sin concluir que tiene 4 varas y $1/2$ de ancha.
- D Manifiesta la carcel de las mujeres con 3 piasas, una galería y Patio a la espalda.
- PP Es la Puerta principal que comunica a la Galería baja, Patios y Carceles y aun lado entre esta y la primer Puerta esta la escalera, que tambien divide las dos viviendas del cabildo y Gobernador y la otra Puerta que esta a la vuelta es la carcel de mugeres.

Nota

Que las Escribanias habitación del Alcalde calabozos y cuarto de confesiones, y demas piasas que sirven de carceles a hombres y mujeres componen 72 varas y $1/2$ de largo. A mas que hay otra piasa grande que puede servir para prisión de algun sujeto decente con independencia de estas.

The city administered its propios, a fund which paid the expenses of public works and maintenance of the urban services which were provided principally through the rental of the municipal government's land and of the ferry service across the Río Cauca.

The maintenance of the urban fabric and especially of the streets was one of the council's constant preoccupations.⁵⁵ These were cared for continuously to maintain them clean. There were also good water mains so that water would run off easily. The access roads to the city were cared for and the owners of nearby property maintained the banks of their canals to avoid flooding and loss of land. The construction of bridges was ordered and the paso real was carefully maintained and offered permanent service of ferrying goods and persons across the river. The cemetery of the city was maintained and by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had a "facade and decoration with circular designs by royal order."⁵⁶

At the end of the colonial period, Calle Real (Royal Street), which was crossed by various streets running north-south, passed in front of the cathedral, continued past the small plaza of the church of Jesus of Nazareth, where it ended and became a small street, El Gallinazo, which continued on to the cemetery, situated at the exit from the city (Figure 14).

The most important buildings were centered around the

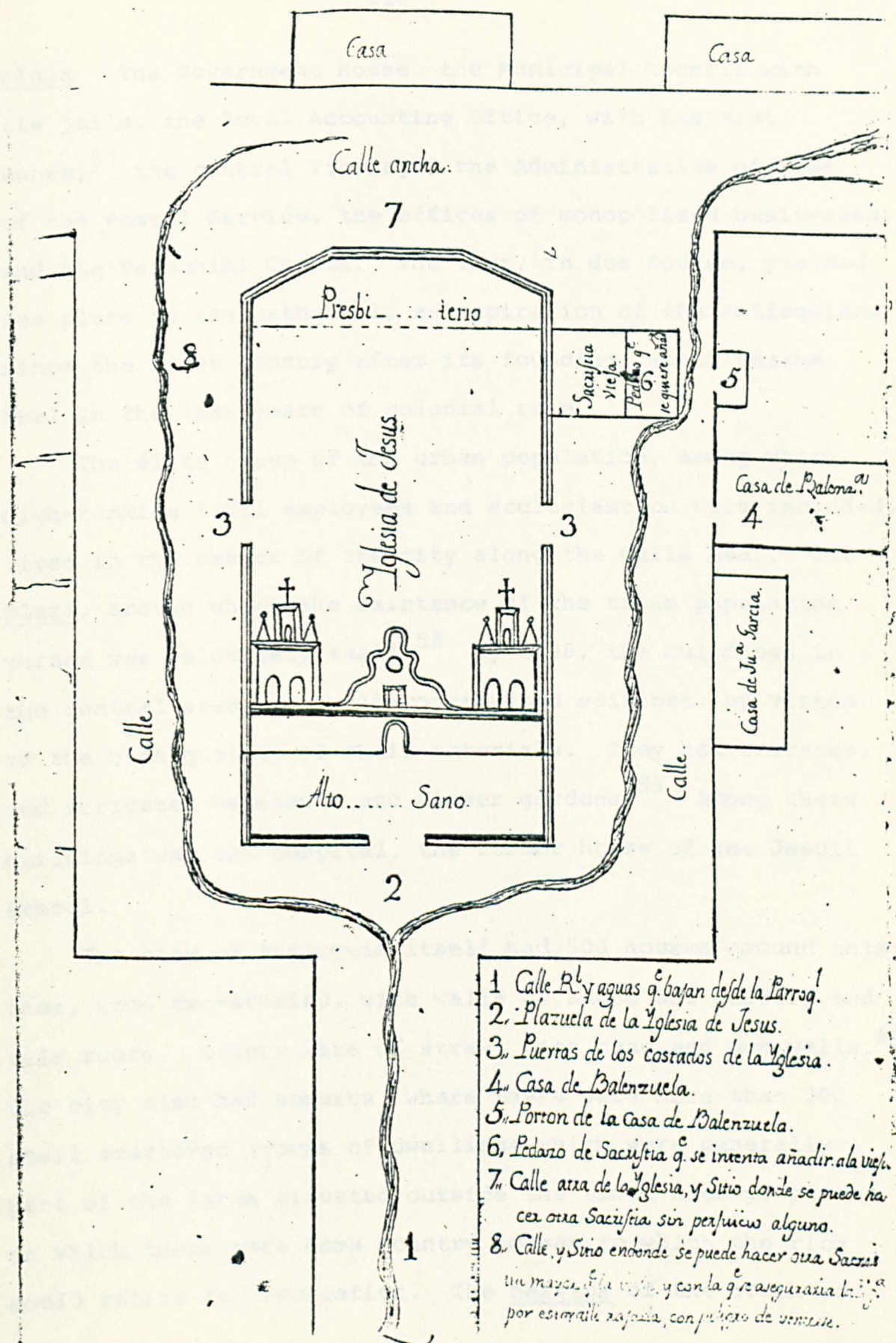


Figure 14. Plan of Jesus de Nazareno Church and adjacent properties, 1795

plaza. The Government House, the Municipal Council with its jails, the Royal Accounting Office, with the Mint annex,⁵⁷ the central Vicarage, the Administrative offices of the Postal Service, the offices of monopolized businesses, and the Parochial Church. The last, in due course, yielded its place to the cathedral, an aspiration of the Antioquians since the first century after its founding, which became real in the last years of colonial rule.

The élite group of the urban population, among which high-ranking civil employees and ecclesiastics were included, lived in the center of the city along the Calle Real. The plaza, around which the existence of the urban population turned was relatively small.⁵⁸ By 1808, the buildings in the central area were well-constructed edifices, by virtue of the high quality of their materials. They had terraces, and irrigated vegetable and flower gardens.⁵⁹ Among these buildings was the hospital, the former house of the Jesuit school.

The city of Antioquia itself had 500 houses around this time, some two-storied, with walls of adobe and masonry and tile roofs. Others were of straw, with cane and mud walls.⁶⁰ The city also had suburbs, where there were more than 300 small scattered groups of dwellings which were generally part of the farms situated outside the urban area proper, on which there were some country houses to which the rich could retire for recreation. The barrios of the south of

the city were extremely poor. The Syndic's Provisioner General referred to these districts in the following terms:

aquellos barrios son muy miserables que habrian muchos que con su personal trabajo podran concurrir (arreglar el callejón) con los jornaleros que adquieren unicaments para el día y muchas mujeres cuyos arbitrios son tax exiguos que con ellos no se puede vivir en sus diarias necesidades.⁶¹

The city was adorned with three churches aside from the principal one: that of Chiquinquirá,⁶² that of Jesus of Nazareth off Calle Real to the south, that of Santa Lucía, a church belonging to non-local (forasteros) Indians, who in the seventeenth century were sent to live in the surrounding area.⁶³

Antioquia had a system of water drainage by pipes and canals in the streets where water from the Tonusco ran, the citizens using this water for their domestic needs.⁶⁴

The organization which provided the "nightly rounds" (rondas nocturnas) was another function of the city government which kept public order. It was additionally responsible for maintaining the jail which was located at the rear of the cabildo.

The provision of meat, and its sale to butchers, was another aspect of municipal commercial regulation, as were the daily regulations and tariffs of duties. When the Town Clerk reported some plague or lack of products for whatever other reason, the removal of foodstuffs from the city was controlled or prohibited, with the establishment of fines against those who violated these orders.

As in any city with mining wealth, there was a mine councillor on the town council of Antioquia who resolved the difficulties and problems in this field. There was also a scribe for the mines who kept a register and all of the related documentation.

Postal service, which the city enjoyed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, was a benefit only to the urban population, since only San José de Urrao had a subaltern administration for handling mailed dispatches from the Chocó and Panamá.⁶⁵ These services functioned under the administration of the Royal Treasury.

The city fulfilled a military function sporadically.⁶⁶ By 1759 its defense consisted of some old and badly maintained harquebuses, and some other old guns which were kept in the Royal Accounting Office. The militia was composed of three integrated companies of whites, mestizos, and mulatos and their officials.⁶⁷ The entire area possessed only one military garrison, in Catare on the banks of the Magdalena.⁶⁸

The city was also the center of religious activities. for the population, for which the first parish in the region was founded. This was attended by a priest, who also acted as the commissary of the Santa Cruzada and ecclesiastical judge. The salary for this secular priest⁶⁹ fell on the inhabitants of the city, since the fixed three-ninths for his religious services were obtained through the well-

known tithes, at least until the spiritual authorities could be maintained by farm products from the surrounding countryside.

The churches of the city,⁷⁰ constructed of tile and masonry, were the meeting places of the urban society to celebrate the sacraments. The Dioceses of Antioquia was not formed until 1804, a sore point in the eyes of many Antioqueños, but construction had begun on the only cathedral in the province in 1798, on the old site of the parochial church.

The members of the Company of Jesus were in charge of the first school in the city, which fulfilled all the requirements of an educational center in that period. It could only be used by the children of the richest urban inhabitants. This school unfortunately closed in 1767 upon the expulsion of the Jesuits; at that time it had four clergymen and an imposing lecture hall where grammar was recited.⁷¹

Another school, not as high in social standing as the Jesuit college, due to its "miserable endowment"⁷² completed the short list of educational establishments.

The hospital in the city was also attended by clergy of the order of San Juan de Dios, though it did not have a surgeon.⁷³

Ecclesiastical and governmental functions in the rural areas

The city of Antioquia fulfilled not only a variety of

functions within the urban area, but also some others of a different order in the rural areas of the district, in the many settlements, villages, and mines. This area was under the jurisdiction of the municipal council's authority.

Although the city council was, in this way, legally responsible for areas outside the city, it did very little for the well-being of the rural settlements or their people.

The spiritual function in Antioquia maintained the religious services of the rural settlements with the assistance of the free people in the parishes in Sopetrán, Sacaojal, the valley of San Andrés, and others. The mining sites of Petacas and of los Osos were aided by the parishes of other settlements of free men.⁷⁴

By 1759, the area of San Geronimo de los Cedros, the valley of San Nicolás de Ríonegro and that of San Joseph de Marinilla each had their own respective priests. The payment for the religious activities promoted by the priest for the people of these areas was derived from the parochial charge for baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Mining sites such as Osos, Petacas, and San Pedro paid the priests a stipend with a tax charged to the owner of each slave gang. This tax ranged from one to 20 gold pesos for each slave held, plus parochial charges.

The ecclesiastical function of the city reached another

group of the rural population, the Indian villages, which were really little more than indoctrination centers. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Indian population of the city was totally under the Crown, which meant that able Indians between 18 and 52 years of age had to pay tribute to the king. A portion of this annual tribute served to maintain the priests permanently amongst the rural Indian settlements.⁷⁵

By 1759, the village of Sabanalarga had its own priest whose salary was deducted from the wages of its 71 taxpayers. This total excludes: 6 anacona Indians, the governor, two city officials, a district attorney, and two singers, who were tax-exempted. The anacona Indians paid 4-1/2 pesos, while the other 56 paid six gold pesos. Buriticá and Sopetrán had only one priest since the settlements were much reduced by this time. Each had 56 Indians of tribute-paying age, a figure which was reduced to 47 after the Indian office holders were excluded.⁷⁶

The city exercised its political-administrative function in the rural area through judges of the second instance, district officials, and magistrates. In the case of a settlement of free men the government was under the charge of a judge of the second instance; in Indian villages, under a magistrate, and in those rural settlements or villages of the eighteenth century in which Indians and free people co-existed, the role was carried out jointly

by a magistrate and a judge. The magistrates, besides running the governments, also were responsible for the collection of tributes. The remainder of tax revenues went to the Treasury in the city, thus helping to perpetuate the urban bureaucrats.

The rural settlements in the district were made up of groups of straw houses with cane and mud walls which looked like adobe. The material used for the church was similar to that of the housing until the end of the eighteenth century when some settlements began to reconstruct some houses and the church using adobe and tile roofs. Such is the case of the famous church of Sopetrán and Sabanalarga, the pride of their needy inhabitants.⁷⁷ In the mining camps the miserable laborers' huts were black slaves' housing and in those towns which both Indians and free men inhabited, the latter group also lived in straw houses, but discreetly separated from the lower status Indian group.

Nature was kind to the forgotten rural people, since it at least supplied them the materials to build their modest houses. The construction of the mud or adobe walls of the houses was "with vertical supports or stanchions of unbreakable beams."

ENDNOTES

1. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Estado dado por el Cabildo a la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia," dated 1759.
2. Ibid. The cajas reales of all dependencies of Santa Fe de Antioquia were under the control of a lieutenant of the Town Council
3. Ibid. A curato (and doctrina) was the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a cura párroco, the equivalent therefore of a parish. This was in contrast to the misiones of regular orders.
4. Richard Morse, La Investigación Urbana Latinoamericana: Tendencias y Replanteos (Buenos Aires, Editorial SIAP, 1971), p. 84.
5. Las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población y Pacificación de las Indias, 1573 (Madrid, Ministerio de la Vivienda, 1973), punto 110, p. 81.
6. Ibid., punto 112. "La plaza mayor de donde se ha de comenzar/la población siendo en costa de mar/se ha de hacer al desembarcadero/del puerto y siendo en/mediterraneo en medio de la población la plaza sea en cuadro prolongada/que por lo menos tenga de largo una/vez y media de su ancho porque desta/manera es mejor para las fiestas de/a caballo y cualquiera otras que/se hayan de hacer." Punto 113, "De la plaza salgan quatro calles prin/cipales una por medio de cada costado de la plaza y dos calles por cada esquina." Punto 126, "En la plaza no se den solares para par/ticulares dense para fábrica de/la iglesia y casas reales y propios de/la ciudad y edifíquense tiendas.
7. Ibid., punto 127, p. 84.
8. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Informe del gobernador al Rey sobre el estado de la gobernación, ciudades, cajas reales, de los indígenas, la labor de las minas," dated July 4, 1608.
9. Las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, op. cit., pp. 60-84.
10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.
12. Regalía was a prerogative of the Crown in virtue of its role as supreme representative of the Church in the New World.
13. Las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, op. cit., punto 98, p. 72.
14. The rozas salteadas were dispersed swidden plots cleared of forest which were differentiated from swidden plots which extended in a contiguous fashion over larger areas.
15. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Estado dado por el Cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia," dated 1759.
16. Agustin Blanco Muñoz, Oposición entre la ciudad y el campo en Venezuela (Caracas, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1974), p. 15.
17. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 98, Expte. 2589, "Estado de la Administración de Antioquia," dated 1786.
18. Las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, op. cit., punto 43, p. 80.
19. Ibid., punto 25, p. 26.
20. The remate system was an indirect means of collecting revenue. Instead of a direct tax the right to collect was offered out for bids. The purchaser of the privilege made sure, of course, that he regained his investment within the prescribed time period.
21. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 51, "Documento sobre la expedición de Heredia al territorio," dated April 14, 1583. The document suggests that Heredia took 200,000 pesos in gold pieces.
22. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, "Cuentas dada por los Oficiales Reales de las Cajas Reales de la ciudad de Cáceres y Santa Fe de Antioquia," Santa Fe de Antioquia, dated 31 Dec., 1596. In the accounts there appears one Francisco Alferez paying 125.5 gold pesos. The tomín was said to be 12 grams weight.
23. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 65. This bundle of documents contains various pieces of evidence relating to the release of mercedes de tierras in Santa Fe de Antioquia, Cáceres, Remedios, Zaragoza and Guamoco.

24. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 65, "Cuentas de las Cajas Reales de la ciudad de Antioquia, las sufragánias de Zaragoza, Guamaco, Cáceres y San Gerónimo del Monte," dated 1666-72.
25. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, "La ciudad de Cáceres da relación sobre sus minas de oro," May 20, 1581. It is clear from this document that the "fifth" paid on joyas guacas relegated it to a minor secondary role in regional production.
26. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Estado dado por los Oficiales Reales de la ciudad de Antioquia," dated 1759. This document contains the account of the various taxes paid, e.g. alcabala, quintos, etc.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid. Relates the dispute carried on between Santa Fe de Antioquia and the town of Medellín regarding the tithes paid.
29. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6367, "Datos estadísticos sobre la provincia de Antioquia, pedidos por el Virrey," dated 1808.
30. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 386-392, "Resumen de la Visita del Oidor Francisco Herrera Campuzano hecha por Rodrigo Zapata," dated 1615, "que todos los dichos indios útiles de los 18 a los 54 años, hubiesen nacido o nacieren en los términos de la ciudad de Antioquia procedentes de los indios e indias anaconas forasteras y los que hubiesen de 10 años estaban fuera de su natural, cada uno de ello pagaren de demora y tributo 4 pesos de oro en cada año y de a 20 kilates en dos partes."
31. AHAM, Indios, Vol. 24, Expte 764, "Matrícula de los indios y encomiendas de Santa Fe de Antioquia," dated 20 Nov., 1680; AHAM, Indios, Vol. 25, Expte 764, "Matrícula de indios y encomiendas," dated 1680; AHAM, Indios, Vol. 25, Expte. 772, "Matrícula de los indios de la provincia," dated 1715. These documents show the progressive diminution of Indian population in encomiendas. In 1715 the three encomiendas of Francisco de Villa that were in Sopetrán, Sabanalarga and San Gerónimo were vacant.
32. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Estado dado por el Cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia, dated 1759.

33. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 71, "Cargo vendido a Fernando de Sosa con sus fiadores," dated 1624.
34. Ibid.
35. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, "Estado dado por el Cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia," dated 1759.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Testimonio de expediente por orden del Excmo. Virrey del Reino sobre Antioquia y su jurisdicción," dated 1808.
39. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Estado dado por el Cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia," dated 1759.
40. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Testimonio del expediente por orden del Excmo. Virrey del Reino sobre Antioquia y su jurisdicción," dated 1808.
41. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 98, Expte. 2589, "Estado de la Administración de Antioquia," dated 1786.
42. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte 6367, "Datos estadísticos sobre la provincia de Antioquia, pedidos por el Señor Virrey," dated 1808.
43. ANBC, Correos, Vol. I, fols. 19-20, "Despachos sobre el establecimiento de correos de Antioquia, y el Chocó y construcción de puentes para el normal servicio de ellos," dated 23 March, 1777.
44. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6347, "Datos estadísticos sobre la provincia de Antioquia, pedidos por el Virrey," dated 1808.
45. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Cuentas del pago de alcabala, cobos y quintos," dated 1755-1759. Here Dona Leonor Ferraro is being referred to.
46. AHAM, Documentos, Vol. 561, Expte. 8871, "Registro de comerciantes de Antioquia dado por Don Francisco Dionisio de Valdesilla y Don Joseph J. Gutierrez, Oficiales de la Real Hacienda," dated 1763.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.

49. AHAM, Temporalidades, Vol. 117, Expte. 3256, dated 1768-1772 for the sustainment of the negros which they had in the schools and in the said haciendas.
50. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Estado dado por el Cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia," dated 1759.
51. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 98, Expte. 2589, "Estado de la Administración de Antioquia," dated 1786.
52. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6367, "Datos estadísticos sobre la provincia de Antioquia, pedidos por el señor Virrey," dated 1808.
53. Ibid.
54. ANBC, Correos, Vol. I, fol. 23, "Despachos sobre el establecimiento de correos de Antioquia y el Choco y construcción de puentes para el normal servicio de ellos," dated 23 March, 1777.
55. AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 73, Expte. 2060, "Sobre que se compongan algunas calles de Antioquia," dated 1813.
56. ANBC, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6367, "Datos estadísticos sobre la provincia de Antioquia, pedidos por el Virrey," dated 1808.
57. Las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población y Pacificación de las Indias, 1573, op. cit. The Ordenanzas stipulated that "en la plaza no se den solares para particulares dense fábricas de la iglesia y casas reales y propios de la ciudad y edifíquense tiendas y casas para tratantes." AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Testimonio de expediente por orden del Excmo. Virrey del Reino sobre Antioquia y su jurisdicción," 1808.
58. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6367, "Datos estadísticos sobre la provincia de Antioquia, pedidos por el Virrey," dated 1808.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 333, Expte. 6349, "Informe dado por orden del Excmo. Señor Virrey, Don Pedro Mesía de la Cerda Parda sobre las poblaciones,

- el numero y calidad de los pueblos de la jurisdicción, el numero de vecinos, naturaleza de ellos," dated 1767; AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6367, "Datos estadísticos sobre la provincia de Antioquia, pedidos por el Virrey," dated 1808.
63. ANBC, Gobierno, Vol. I, fols. 386-392, "Resumen de la Visita del Oidor Francisco Herrera Campuzano, hecha por Rodrigo Zapata," dated 1615.
 64. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Testimonio de expediente por orden del Excmo. Virrey del Reino sobre Antioquia y su jurisdicción," dated 1808.
 65. ANBC, Historia Civil, Vol. XVI, "Estado General de la Provincia de Antioquia en el Distrito de la Real Audiencia de Santa Fe," dated 1780.
 66. AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2527, "Estado Militar dado por el cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia," dated 1759.
 67. Ibid.
 68. Ibid. Remedios had its revenue paid into the Cajas Reales of Santa Fe. The source cited mentions that it was situated in the jurisdiction of Santa Fe.
 69. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6367, "Datos estadísticos sobre la provincia de Antioquia, pedidos por el Virrey," dated 1808; AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Testimonio del expediente por orden del Excmo. Senor Virrey del Reino, sobre Antioquia y su jurisdicción," dated 1808.
 70. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6367, "Datos estadísticos sobre la provincia de Antioquia, pedido por el Virrey," dated 1808.
 71. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 333, Expte. 6349, "El Procurador General de la ciudad, al ilustre Cabildo," dated 24 Jan., 1777; ANBC, Hospitales y Cemeterios, Vol. IV, fols. 224-227, "Informe sobre la utilidad y justicia de la subsistencia," dated 1784.
 72. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Testimonio del expediente por orden del Senor Virrey del Reino, sobre Antioquia y su jurisdicción," 1808.
 73. Ibid.

74. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 333, Expte. 6349, "El Procurador General de la ciudad, al ilustre cabildo," dated 1 Jan., 1777; AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Estado dado por el cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Antioquia," dated 1759.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Testimonio del expediente por orden del Senor Virrey del Reino, sobre Antioquia y su jurisdicción," dated 1808.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNICATIONS, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

The first explorers of the Antioquia region followed the narrow Indian trails or made their way through the mountain maze, stimulated by the desire to find the coveted gold ore bodies. When they decided to establish a settlement in the area, they had to have entrance and exit roads, so they upgraded the indigenous paths and used them to maintain communication with neighboring and distant areas (Figure 15). Keeping in mind the topographic complexity of the region this was a difficult task, and its roads were considered not only the worst in the new kingdom of Granada, but in all the Indies.

The oldest of them was called "Espíritu Santo",¹ used for the export trade and the route of travellers to and from Cartagena. It was very important until the end of the seventeenth century, when with the decline in the economic importance of Antioquia, it was less-travelled. Its river and land route required 23 or 24 days of travel, from Barrancas, on the Magdalena, to the city of Antioquia. The river route could be completed via the Magdalena and the

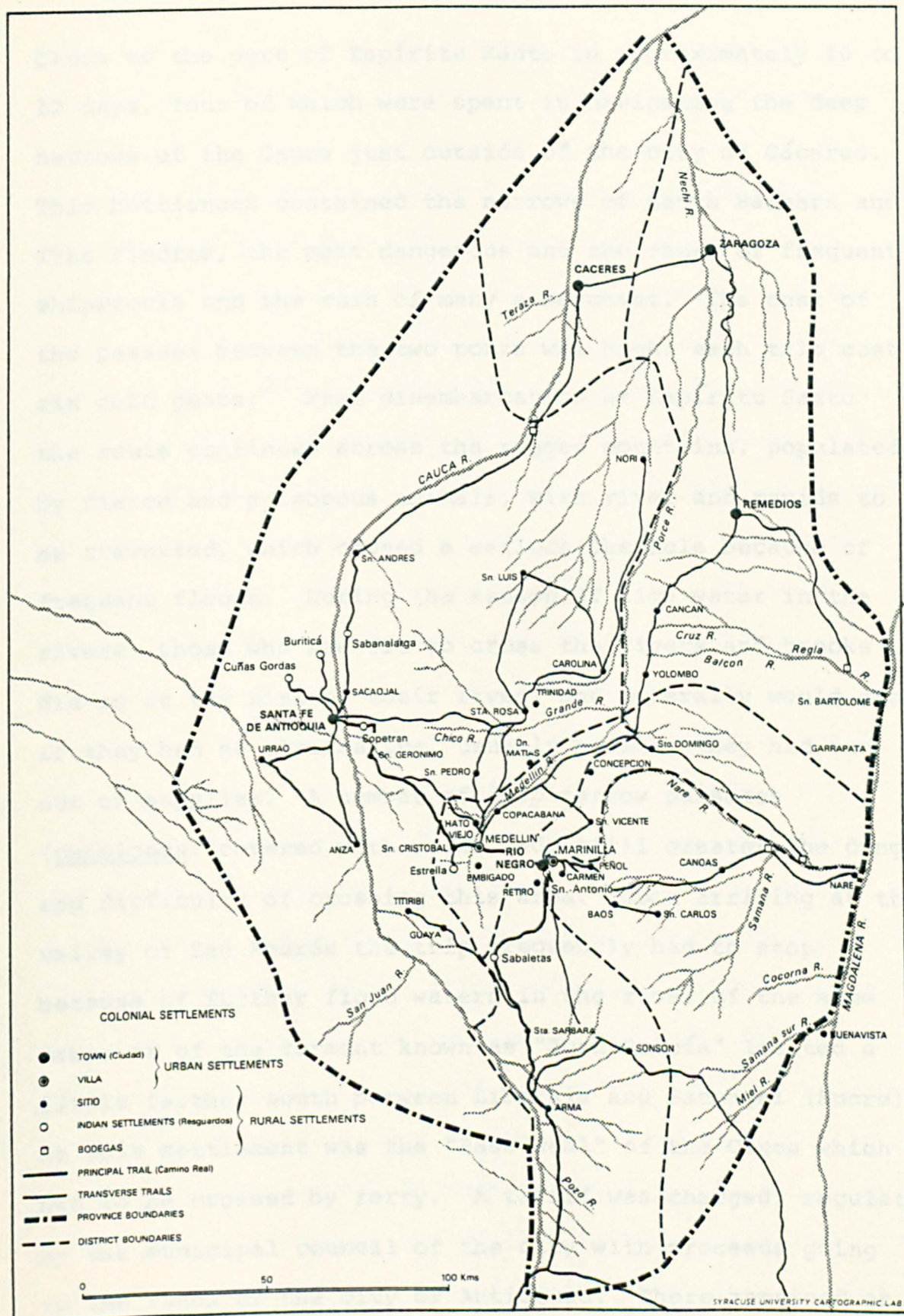


Figure 15. Colonial trails and communications in Antioquia Province

Cauca to the port of Espíritu Santo in approximately 10 to 12 days, four of which were spent in navigating the deep narrows of the Cauca just outside of the city of Cáceres. This bottleneck contained the narrows of Santa Barbara and Tres Piedras, the most dangerous and the cause of frequent shipwrecks and the ruin of many a merchant. The cost of the passage between the two ports was high; each trip cost six gold pesos.² From disembarcation at Espíritu Santo the route continued across the rugged mountains, populated by fierce and poisonous animals, with river and rapids to be traversed, which caused a serious obstacle because of frequent floods. During the season of high water in the rivers, those who saw fit to cross the rivers and brooks did so at the risk of their lives, and generally would cross if they had no alternative, usually because they had run out of supplies. A number of deep narrow passages (canelones) covered with rocks made still greater the danger and difficulty of crossing this area. Upon arriving at the valley of San Andrés the trip frequently had to stop because of further flood waters in the river of the same name, or of the torment known as "Juan García" located a little farther south between Libornia and Saconjal (Sucre). At this settlement was the "Paso Real" of the Cauca which had to be crossed by ferry. A tariff was charged, regulated by the municipal council of the city with proceeds going to the funds of the city of Antioquia. There remained an

hour and a half to two hours of travel on a relatively good road to arrive at the capital after the crossing at Cauca.³

The city of Antioquia maintained close relations with the province of Popayán, from which it received cattle. The bifurcation which continued north of the royal highway from Quito was the route over which textiles from the various zones of this city were carried. Nuestra Señora de Sopetrán continued after crossing the Paso Real of the Cauca, and the area of San Jerónimo was reached after two hours of travel. This road also passed through the villages of La Estrella and Sabaletas, which were transportation centers in the upper Cauca valley. The cities of Anserma, Cartago, and Cali were stops along this road to Popayán.

It was noted in a report to the Viceroy that on this very bad route 29 or 30 days of "diligent travel"⁴ were necessary using good horsemen and everything else necessary. The return trip, since it was usually made with loads of clothing from Quito, took two months in good weather, including changing horses at the city of Cartago, the half-way point. During the winter the return trip took four hard months,⁵ always at the risk of losing the load of goods and the beasts of burden. During such weather, this difficult route became impassable because of the mud, the threat of floods from the high waters of rivers such as the Buey, Arma, and Cauca, the absence of bridges over most of these

rivers, and the unhealthy conditions in the surrounding lands.⁶

One of the roads which linked Antioquia to the province of Santa was the Herve (or Herveo), used for commercial purposes between the city of Mariquita and the port of Honda. This route was excessively long and difficult; calculations of the time estimate it at 113-1/2 leagues⁷ which includes: 22 leagues from Santa Fe to the port and town of Honda, then 3-1/2 leagues to Mariquitá,⁸ where the road to Rionegro began. From Mariquitá to Arma the route covered approximately 66 leagues, and from Arma 22 leagues remained to Rio Negro.⁹

This route crossed 34 rivers, most of them usually with high water levels¹⁰ and without bridges. Part of the adjacent countryside was composed of narrow and rocky straits, rugged lands with a great poverty of pastures or food sources. In the wilderness of Herve or Herveo there were good pastures for the mules, but these animals usually suffered the rigors of an intense cold and the continual danger of attack by jaguars. A type of bamboo to feed the animals could only be found in the vicinity of Mariquitá.¹¹

The loads of goods carried along this route weighed seven arrobas (175 pounds), taking a month of good weather (summer or the dry season) in passage, with freight charges generally between 12 and 14 gold pesos per load. For the transport of a load of this weight it was necessary to use

two mules; for a team of ten mules, no less than three muleteers were necessary.¹²

Although the payment of duties on cacao and textiles at the Puerto de Honda was avoided on this route, only a few merchants used it. Those who did risk the passage did so in time of drought¹³ with mules, tobacco, and products already mentioned, but most used the Juntas highway¹⁴ after it was opened.

There was another route between Mariquitá and the Province, which followed the new trail from Victoria and came out at Rionegro. Although it was shorter than the above route, it was kept impassable by lack of clearance and continual use.¹⁵

Another land route which linked Antioquia and vicinity with that of Santa Fe de Bogotá was the old road of Nare, whose trajectory was 99-1/2 leagues approximately, from Medellin or Rionegro to the port on the Magdalena. The distance travelled on this route took 29 or 30 days. Products from both various regions of the Empire and from Spain arrived at this point after the port of Espíritu Santo fell into disuse. Departing from Santa Fe it was the same distance as the preceeding route, but it was necessary to go down the Magdalena upon arriving at Honda, and follow the Bocas de Nare. The area where the warehouses were located was reached after going upstream 3-1/2 more leagues. These warehouses formed a very important link in this com-

mercial traffic, since it was here that products were stored and beasts of burden kept.¹⁶ A large part of the route of the Nare highway was full of dangers, not only because it was in low and damp land with extensive forest cover, but also because the rivers were abundant, with high water levels, and without bridge crossings. The ground was muddy and slippery, the temperatures were so high that even mules often suffocated, and the land so lacked pastures that the beasts had to eat leaves from the trees and palms until Cancan, where there were pastures for the animals. The route was also frequented by ferocious animals.¹⁷

From the warehouses at Nare to Cancan, the supply center for the mining sites in the north of the province, the distance was calculated at 16 leagues by one informant¹⁸ and 25 to Medellín and Rionegro, crossing through Barbosa, on the banks of the Nechi (Medellín).¹⁹

On the first part of the trip, upon leaving the warehouses it was necessary to cross the raging waters of the Rio Nus, which was done by swimming, while the goods went across slung along the main cable of the rope bridge. The river received water in such abundance from the rain which fell in its basin, that it grew to a great extent and was a large risk for both men and beasts.²⁰ Two muleteers could lead up to 10 mules, and generally the cargos were 10 arrobas in weight. The freight charge was 12 gold pesos per muleload and went up to 14 during the inclement weather.²¹ This

road had an important junction to the north which linked together trade between the mining centers of Remedios and Zaragoza.

A report on the state of the highways in the province suggested that "although the road to Nare is not as bad as that of Herves, one can easily lose all in attempting to gain a little."²²

The opening of a new highway that could be traversed on horseback was ordered at the end of the 1780's. This was to run between the Magdalena and Rionegro, with a junction from Juntas to the Magdalena, and later, another toward Remolino.²³ The route from Juntas took barely seven days.

It began in the territory of Antioquia at the "Bocas de Nare," and continued six leagues upstream to the confluence of the Ríos Nare and Samana, where the Juntas warehouses, which give their name to the highway, were located.²⁴

Another highway was that of Palagua, which began like the preceding one, from Santa Fe de Antioquia, thence to Honda, and from there downstream via the Magdalena until the disembarkation of the Brazuelo del Tigre highway (in the vicinity of the Quebrada Union). To arrive there it was necessary to place the beasts on rafts, this whole section having saved one a mere three leagues²⁵ downstream on the Magdalena.²⁶

From here the route continued to the warehouses at Juntas, where an hour was spent in crossing the Samana. This was a savings of two leagues²⁷ and was a place to feed the mules

and where travellers spent the night. Continuing west and passing Canoas, the route arrived at the Río Guatope, which both the men and animals had to cross by swimming. Only at the end of the colonial period was a bridge built over this river, for which a toll was paid of two reales for each load of goods, and two for each mule (the district in which the bridge was located was part of Marinilla). After passing through San Carlos and El Penol the route reached Marinilla and ended half an hour later at Rionegro. This route, aside from being shorter than the others, was less dangerous and had sufficient pastures to feed the animals. From Marinilla it was possible to continue on to any other point in the province without going through Rionegro, since the river of this name and the Marinilla had "horse" bridges for the convenience of travellers.

In 1777 when the authorities were looking for a useful highway for the establishment of a postal service which would augment Crown revenues, it was recommended that the route be built along the banks of the Magdalena in the area of San Bartolomé. The road started from this point toward the city of Remedios, continuing to the town of Medellin through the areas of San Martín de Cancan, known for its pastures, San Lorenzo de Yolombo and La Tasajera (Copacabana), where there were "many citizens, some business, and no dangerous rivers."²⁸ It was decided that a mail carrier with his pouch would earn a salary of 14 castellanos for eight

days of travel. Another carrier would continue with the letters going to the capital from Medellín taking three day for the return trip at a cost of three gold castellanos. Another carrier would go to Rionegro where he would also pick up the correspondence from Marinilla and receive a payment similar to the others.

As we have seen in the preceding pages, the highway from the south was of fundamental importance in the movement of cattle, pork, and mules²⁹ from the different pasture lands of the province of Popayán, and in the shipment of loads of clothing and merchandise which was made in the workshops (obrajes) in the province of Quito.

The cattle business was done by contract with the cattle rancher, after the concession of auctioning of the meat products which allowed a determined number of cattle to be introduced at a previously set price.³⁰ The meat was sold on the basis of the tariff established by the municipal council. Additionally, the inhabitants of the mining settlements provided themselves with jerked beef or salted meat to maintain their food supply of meat for longer periods.³¹

As can be seen in Table 16, the articles and merchandise which came from various parts of New Granada, and from Quito. Those products imported from Spain (Castilla) for the city of Antioquia came from Cartagena and had to be registered in the lists of imported merchandise at the river ports of Mompox or Honda. These articles were transported

Table 16. Imports into Santa Fe de Antioquia, 1738

ARTICLE	TOTAL	NEW GRANADA	ORIGIN		UNSPECIFIED
			QUITO	SPAIN	
Cloth (Tejidos)	134	68	46	17	3
Wine (Vino)	69	19	0	5	45
Brandy	14	2	0	8	4
Wheat Flour (Harina de Trigo)	36	35	0	0	1
Hardtack (Bizcocho)	32	30	0	0	2
Tobacco (Tabaco)	23	20	0	2	1
Iron & Steel (Hierro y acero)	22	7	0	8	7
Sugar (Azucar)	25	23	0	2	0
Salt (Sal)	23	21	0	0	2
Conserves (Conservas)	9	9	0	0	0
Cacao	12	11	0	0	1
Dried Fish (Pescado Seco)	9	9	0	0	0
Olive Oil (Aceite de Oliva)	3	0	0	2	1
Beeswax (Cera)	1	0	0	1	0
Tallow (Sebo)	5	5	0	0	0
Soap (Jabon)	3	3	0	1	0
Mercury (Mercurio)	1	0	0	1	0
Cheese (Queso)	2	2	0	0	0
Unspecified	42	32	8	2	0
TOTAL	465	296	54	48	67

Source: Robert West, Colonial Placer Mining in Colombia, p. 108.

via the road from Espíritu Santo until the end of the seventeenth century, then on the Nare highway, and almost at the end of the colonial period on the route from Juntas.

In Table 17, which shows more details of the importation

Table 17. The Import of Products Destined for Santa Fe de Antioquia, Medellin and Rionegro, 1738

ARTICLE	CITY OF DESTINATION			
	TOTAL	SANTA FE DE ANTIOQUIA	MEDELLIN	RIONEGRO
Negros	51	1	36	14
Cloth from Quito	28	5	22	1
Cloth from the Reino	35	3	15	17
Cloth from Castille	38-1/2	19	17-1/2	2
Linen	24	24	0	0
Steel	5	1	4	0
Olive Oil	8	0	8	0
Tobacco	62-1/2	20	38-1/2	4
Wheat Flour	11	1	10	0
Cacao	51	12	30	9
Copper	1	0	1	0
Rice	2	0	2	0
Wine (<u>Botijas</u>)	30	6	24	0
Silk Pieces	5	4	1	0
Aniseed	4	3	1	0
Sole	4	1	3	0
Iron	11	7	4	0
Saddles	1	0	1	0
Pelts (<u>Corambre</u>)	1	1	0	0
Reeds (<u>Baqueta</u>)	4	0	4	0
Cinnamon	3	2	1	0
Beeswax	15	0	15	0
Vests (<u>Camisetas</u>)	2	2	0	0
Wool	1	0	1	0
Mules (<u>Piezas</u>)	35	16	15	4

Source: AHAM, Empleos, 550, Expte. 8723, dated 1738.

of goods into the province of Antioquia one can estimate the relative significance of the products registered for the

city of Antioquia. The ports of embarkation of these products, as can be seen in Table 18, were: Buga, Villa Honda, Mompox, Santa Fe, Popayán, Cartagena, Mariquitá, and El Retiro. By 1763, 48% of the listed entries of merchandise imported from Spain (Table 19) for the city of Antioquia entered through the port and town of Santa Cruz de Mompox. The ports of registration of these products were Mompox (50%), Cartagena (17%), Mariquitá (4%), Popayán (17%), and Honda (12%). The city of Santa Fe de Antioquia was still an important import center of Spanish products that year. Importers could not avoid paying duties, since products had to enter and be registered at one of the restricted number of ports. In January of 1763 the largest number of entries were registered, probably because in December merchandise consumption was greater as a result of the traditional religious festivals occurring in that month.

It was necessary to pay a wide range of taxes: the sisa, quintos, cobos, and alcabalas³² on imported items, and they were shipped to the wealthy businessman or person ordering them. They frequently included orders from other businessmen who had their commercial establishments in the city.

The travelling salesman or itinerant peddler also existed in Antioquia. It was he who supplied the rural areas and frequented especially the mining sites, where he traded his wares for gold. The great advantage of this type

Table 18. Records of Products Introduced in the Province of
Antioquia, by Origin, 1738

Destination	TOTAL	ORIGIN POINTS (of loads of cargo)							
		BUGA	V. HONDA	MOMPOX	SANTA FE	POPAYAN	CARTAGENA	MARIQUITA	RETIRO
Santa Fe de Antioquia	28	2	4	18	0	2	0	1	1
Medellín	29	2	17	4	3	1	2	0	0
Rionegro	8	1	2	1	1	0	1	2	0
Unspecified	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

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Source: AHAM, Miscelánea 550, Expte. 8723, dated 1738.

ARTICLE	TOTAL	DESTINATION.		
		STA. FE OF ANTIOQUIA	MEDELLIN	RIONEGRO
Linen materials (from la Palma)	34	34	0	0
Linen materials (pieces)	93	93	0	0
Linen materials (cargas)	26	16	0	10
Cacao (millares)	1497	1497	0	0
Cacao (cargas)	76½, 54 @	70½	0	6cargas y 54 @
Wheat - flour (cargas)	4	3	0	1
Beeswax (quarter of a short C.W.T.)	49@, 22lbs.	45@, 22½ lbs.	0	4
Vests (cargas)	1	1	0	0
Blankets (pieces)	30	30	0	0
Vests & Blankets (cargas)	16	14	2	0
Vests, Blankets & Linen materials	37	3	0	34
Tobacco	62	49	4	9
Wine (jug)	16	4	0	12
Rum Rum from Castilla (bottles)	20	0	0	20
China (small chests)	2	0	0	2
Sole (cargas)	4	3	0	1
Cloth from Quito (cargas)	62, 15 @	22	0	40 cargas, 15 @
Cloth from el Reino	22	22	0	0
Cobancobos	2½, 136	2½ cargas, 136	0	0
Salt (bushels)	1	1	0	0
Paper (ream)	24	24	0	0
Merchandise from Castilla (cargas)	2, 437 @	437 @, 2 cargas	0	0
Steel (quarter of a short C.W.T.)	24	19	0	5
Girth & Sacks (cargas)	1	0	0	1
Rice (cargas)	1	0	0	1
Oil (bottles)	4	0	0	4
Copper (cargas)	4	0	0	4
Hardware goods (quarter of a short C.W.T.)	15¾	15¾	0	0
Merchandise (quarter of a short C.W.T.)	70¾	70¾	0	0
Cinnamon (quarter of a short C.W.T.)	8	8	0	0
Files	20	0	0	20
Iron (hundredweight)	18	18	0	0
Materials (pieces)	16½	16½	0	0
Mules	94	29	0	65
Pepper from Castilla (quarter of a short C.W.T.)	8	8	0	0
Anissed (cargas)	2	2	0	0

Table 19. Imports from Spain to Antioquia Province, 1763
Source: AHAM, Empleos 97, Expte. 2557, 1763.

of business was the avoidance of all taxes. Among the merchandise from Spain, some arrived for the exclusive use of the well-to-do citizens and high-ranking employees who could pay their high prices. Some of the most frequently imported articles were inlaid work, taffeta, velvet, brocades, gloves, silk, cloth from San Fernando, rich Castillian wines in earthenware jugs which were always present on the noble families' tables, some manufactured clothing, which went to the most prosperous businessmen and their families for use on special occasions, and olive oil, which was always used in their meals. Cotton and percale fabrics were introduced for the common people, as was hardware in general general.³³

Cast iron ingots, steel bars, and platinum ore for use in the manufacture of mining tools were imported from Spain³⁴ and well into the eighteenth century negros were brought from the asientos to work the mines.

From within New Granada, including the settlements within the eastern ranges, Santa Fe, Tunja, Velez, and others came flour, rock salt,³⁵ undershirts, tablecloths, linens, blankets, ponchos, hemp sacks, cacao, and tobacco. The last two items were also brought from Mariquitá.

The oldest means of transportation was the human being, frequently used as a beast of burden, then came the mules or mule teams under the care, responsibility, and guidance of the muleteers. This work constituted a popular way of

life in settlements near the highways.

The following means were used for river transport: the well-known "champanes" for crossings on the Magdalena,³⁶ for which Indians, and later, negros, were employed as rowers; canoes, made by the Indians from the large, round trunks of cedar trees, which were very common in the tropical forests, above all in the humid zone of Antioquia; and finally, rafts, constructed of "cañaguada," or a local variety of bamboo.

Just as it was a function of the city of Antioquia to establish the tariff rates on the region's products which were sold in the city, it also had to clean and repair its highways, bridges, and the Royal Ferry. The Cauca was crossed in small boats captained by river ferrymen and there was a charge of one tomín per person and one more for each load of cargo. The organization of the above was imposed and administered by the municipal council.³⁷ The city-ports of the province, Cáceres and Zaragoza, had to open their own ports and interior highways. To make this possible the citizens normally made a loan to the Treasury of their city.³⁸ The Treasury of Cáceres, for example, lent 400 pesos for its establishment.³⁹ These ports were also auctioned out in the name of his majesty for four years at a time. The city itself reduced the port administration to 100 pesos belonging to the Royal Treasury, plus 70 more which had to be used for the construction of the building to be

used to store merchandise as it arrived.

The journey from Cartagena to Cáceres, going upstream on the Ríos Magdalena and Cauca, took from eight to ten days⁴⁰ and the charges by canoes to any port from Cáceres were excessively onerous. To Mompox, the nearest port, the charge was 300 reales per canoe in a group of eight canoes. From there to Honda it "cost an inordinate amount of gold;"⁴¹ often the carriage of mules from Honda to Santa Fe and Tunja had to be cancelled.⁴² These high transportation costs were transferred directly into the costs of the merchandise that was brought, and consequently, their prices were so high that they became prohibitive for the citizens--a cause of the ruin of many of the slave gang owners and of the well-known poverty of the cities. Merchandise was also moved to those ports on the highway from the city of Remedios.

The city of Antioquia in turn had some local highways, used for commerce in the vicinity. The old road to the valley of San Andrés, to the north of the city and on the right bank of the Cauca, was totally abandoned because it was flanked by precipitous slopes, it was unhealthy, and hazardous in the extreme.⁴³

The valley of Antioquia had a series of trails leading to the mining sites, which were used to move about corn and other farm products.⁴⁴ Another important transport route was the one existing between the city and the rich mining sites of Santa Rosa de Osos. A recently opened trail

started from that settlement for the city of Cáceres,⁴⁵ which continued on to Zaragoza, coming out at Dos Bocas at the confluence of the Ríos Porce and Nechi. This route was known as the "trail blazed by the baggage-carriers."⁴⁶ The trail was frequented by indefagitable peddlers, who supplied the northern mining sites,⁴⁷ travelling through the village of Sopetrán, whence another road began which continued to San Jerónimo and on to the valley of Medellín. The peddlers reduced the commercial potential of the city of Antioquia with their competitive system.

The old mining relations that the city of Antioquia had with Buriticá were maintained at the expense of the linking road. A nearby mountain allowed the people to obtain some gold⁴⁸ which funded them sufficiently to go down to buy their essential supplies in Buriticá. This village was located a day's journey from the city of Antioquia. A highway running northeast joined the settlement to the village of Cañasgordas, which had been populated by descendants of the Chocó Indians. The village was 20 leagues from the city, or a two day trip. Another route went from there to Murri, an old mining site, from where it was reported that previously there had been Indian trails to the villages of Chocó.⁴⁹ A peon without a load could make the trip from Cañasgordas to Murri in three days, or in eight if he carried supplies.⁵⁰

The cattle trade between Antioquia and the province of

Chocó made it necessary to widen that route.⁵¹ Antioquia also maintained permanent communications with Tonusco Arriba and the repair of bad spots and rock falls on the road was a duty of the Procurador General.⁵² Vegetables, tubers and some cereals were brought to the city over this road.⁵³

An important highway had existed previously which linked the capital with the village of Sabanalarga. This route was later forgotten, although it had allowed "the merchants of the city of Santa Fe de Antioquia to bring merchandise from the province of Cartagena."⁵⁴

The highways which led to the south of the city at the end of the colonial period included one bordering the Río Cauca which led to Anza⁵⁵ and another which went to the valley of San José de Urrao, located on the banks and near the sabana of the Río Penderisco. This route continued toward Chocó, past the warehouses at Bebera, where the village of the same name was located. This was a "three-day journey for a mailman or eight days for one carrying a full load on his back, since it was impassable for beasts of burden."⁵⁶ Cattle was also brought to the city of Antioquia from Urrao.⁵⁷ There was a projected route, to run from the city of Antioquia to Panamá through the rivers of Chaquendo, Bebera and Napipe.⁵⁸

ENDNOTES

1. ANBC, Correos, Vol. 1, fols. 23-33, "Despachos Oficiales del establecimiento de correos de Antioquia y el Chocó y construcción de puentes para el normal servicio de ellos," dated 1776. (Descripción detallada del camino de Espíritu Santo.); James Parsons, La Colonización Antioqueña en el Occidente de Colombia, 1950, p. 162.
2. ANBC, Correos, Vol. 1, fols. 32-33.
3. Ibid., fols. 20-20v. This was the only ford to cross the Cauca to get to Santa Fe de Antioquia. AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, Expte. 1986, "Testimonio sobre el Passo Real del Cauca," dated 1789.
4. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6367, fol. 72, "Informe al Virrey," dated 1808. This detailed that a person lightly loaded and with good mules could make the trip from Medellín to Popayán in less than 22 days. With cargo that would be extended to 60 days.
5. Ibid. In spite of the fact that a rope bridge (tarabita) was used, the crossing was viewed as extremely dangerous. See Parsons, op. cit., p. 165.
6. Ibid.
7. AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, Expte. 1971, "Orden Superior y diligencias practicadas sobre los 3 caminos de Ayapel, Urrao y Palagua," dated 1778. This includes a map with distances, dated 1778. ANBC, Correos, Vol. I, fol. 23, "Establecimiento de correos en Antioquia," dated 1776.
8. AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, Expte. 1978, "Sobre un camino mas corto para ir a la provincia de Mariquitá," dated 1748; ANBC, Correos, Vol. I, fols. 19-20v, dated 23 March, 1777.
9. ANBC, Correos, Vol. I, Expte 1777, mentions the impossibility of establishing a postal road by this route, for a runner from Mariquitá to Santa Fe de Antioquia would take at least 20 days.

10. ANBC, Correos, Vol 1, dated 1776.
11. The altitude of Antioquia at above 3000 meters placed it within the páramo zone.
12. AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, Expte. 1971, dated 19 July, 1778-1781.
13. Ibid.
14. ANBC, Correos, Vol. 1, Expte. 1882, "Establecimiento de correos," dated 1776.
15. Ibid. The document notes that the trail had only recently been opened.
16. Manuel Uribe Angel, Geografía e Historia de Antioquia (Paris, 1885), p. 191. He states that the name was known by the miners as the GeneralQuarters for the Protection of the Workers.
17. ANBC, Correos, Vol. 1, fol. 19, dated 23 March, 1777. This road from La Bodega de Nore joined with that of Herveo, and the new trails were considered extremely important for the further development of commerce.
18. ANBC, Mejoras y Materiales, Vol. II, fol. 280 et seq., dated 12 Dec., 1802. In the description of this road the document points out that from the settlement of Barbosa and Santo Domingo to La Bodego de Río Nore there were several tambos and a bodega with a thatched roof; ANBC, Mejoras y Materiales, Vol. XII, fol. 864 et seq., "Apertura de un camino de la ciudad de Remedios a San Bartolomé," dated 1793; AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 76, Expte. 2102, "Documentos sobre San Nicolas de Remedios."
19. Here the Río Medellín is being referred to, though the same river was also called the Río Porce.
20. ANBC, Correos, Vol. I, dated 1776.
21. The tarabita was a device used to haul goods across the river. It consisted of a cable along which a pulley ran which was hauled by hand, the goods suspended underneath the main cable.
22. AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, Expte. 1971, dated 1778-1781; AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, Expte. 1980, "Sobre la apertura de un camino de Antioquia a Cartagena," dated 1780.

23. ANBC, Mejoras Materiales, Vol. XVIII, fols. 933-963, "Ordenanzas para el tráfico de cargueros de Juntas, formadas para el arreglo de la conducción de ropa," dated 1806. Remolino was upstream where the Ríos Nore and Samana joined.
24. AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, "Orden superior, diligencia practicada sobre tres caminos," dated 1778.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid. Although not shown on the map it is relatively easy to follow its course.
28. Ibid.
29. AHAM, Miscelánea, Vol. 561, Expte. 8871, "Registro de Comerciantes," dated 1763. The trade in mules carried on from Popayán with Antioquia was significant.
30. ANBC, Abastos, Vol. XVI, fols. 314-340, dated 1640.
31. ANBC, Minas de Antioquia, Vol. IV, dated 1632.
32. AHAM, Miscelanea, Vol. 561, Expte. 8871. This was the method of regaining a part of the reduction after ore; see also AHAM, Empleos, Vol. 97, Expte. 2557, "Registro de Partidas," dated 1763.
33. Ibid., Empleos, Vol. 97.
34. AHAM, Miscelánea, Vol. 561, Expte. 8871, dated 1763.
35. Ibid.
36. ANBC, Mejoras Materiales, Vol. XVIII, fols. 12-36, "La construcción de las champanes que servian en el Magdalena era dado por privilegios," dated 1626.
37. Barquetas were large, open and shallow draught boats.
38. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 71, notes that the Caja Real lent to the vecinos 400 pesos for the said constructions. Also, AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, Caceres, dated 6 June, 1630; ANBC, Historia civil, Vol. 9, fols. 550-564, "Petición de navegación del río Cauca," Caceres, dated 1590; Robert West, La Minería de Aluvión en Colombia (Bogotá, 1972), p. 122.
39. Ibid., AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 71.

40. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 71 and Leg. 20, fols. 20-25.
41. AGI, Santa Fe, Leg. 67, Cáceres, dated 6 June, 1630.
42. Ibid.
43. ANBC, Correos, Vol. I, fol. 23, dated 1776.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.; also AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 76, Expte. 2102, "Autos de la visita de Francisco Silvestre," dated 29 Feb., 1784.
46. Ibid., AHAM, Visitas, Vol. 76.
47. ANBC, Correos, Vol. I, 1776.
48. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 334, Expte. 6367, "Informe al Virrey," dated 1808; AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, dated 1808.
49. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538, "Informe al Virrey," dated 1808.
50. Ibid.
51. ANBC, Correos, Vol. I, dated 1776.
52. AHAM, Miscelánea, Vol. 559, Expte. 8841.
53. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 65-83.
54. Ibid.
55. AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, Expte. 1984, "Camino a Anza," dated 1788.
56. AHAM, Estadística y Censo, Vol. 343, Expte. 6538.
57. Ibid.
58. AGI, Mapas y Planos de Panamá 309; AHAM, Caminos, Vol. 71, Expte. 1972, dated 1779.

PART TWO

SANTA INES DE CUMANA AND ITS REGION

CHAPTER IX

ABORIGINAL POPULATION AT CONTACT

As in the case of Santa Fe de Antioquia and its region, this study of Cumaná begins with an account and analysis of the characteristics and distribution of the indigenous population in the east of Venezuela upon the arrival of the European conquerors.

The native inhabitants of that region, as in all of that which later became Hispanic-America, constituted the basic ethnic element which, together with their territorial patrimony, would essentially support the exploitative practices of the Spanish throughout the entire colonial period.

The establishment of a series of urban centers along the shores of Venezuela (Figure) paralleled the actions of an earlier Caribbean model of colonization process whereby settlements were located in areas of relatively densely concentrated Indian population. In Cumaná, these Indian groups were located along and within a short distance of the coast, a great boon to the Spanish colonists whose early landfalls led them directly to their new conquest cultures. Within a very short time of the initiation of the settlement process there also began in the region the virtual enslavement

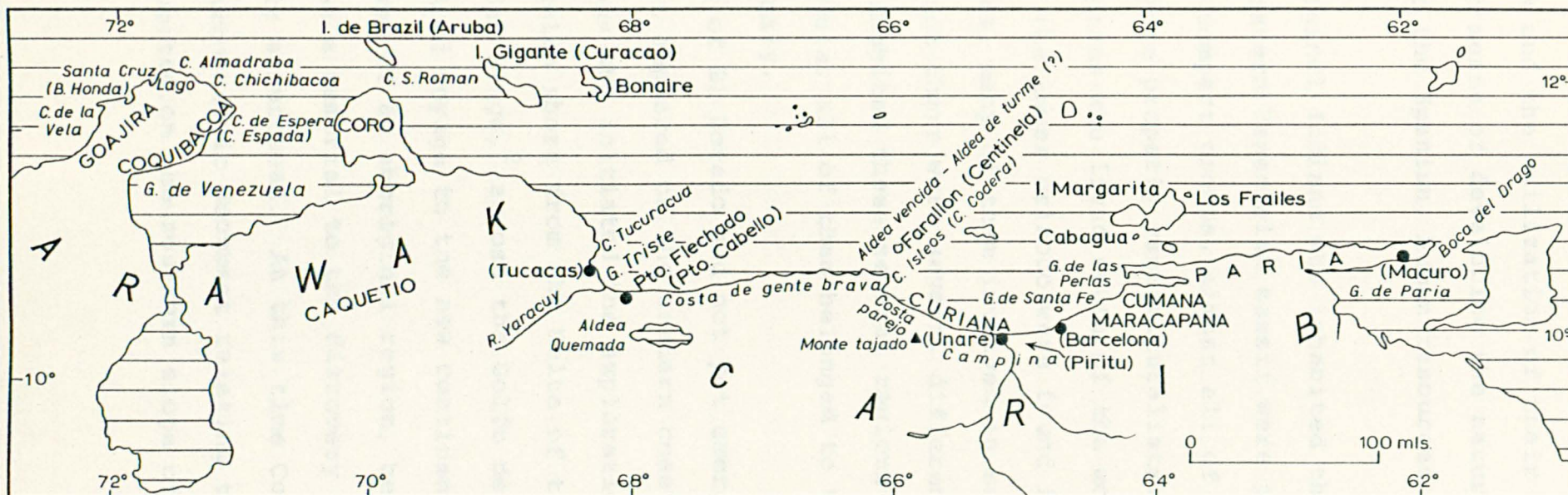


Figure 16. Population patterns in northern Venezuela at contact

Source: after Sauer, The Early Spanish Main

of the Indians and the utilization of their labor as the most efficient means of developing the natural resources of her land. For the Spanish, human resources were a means to an end.

The aboriginal Indians who inhabited the mountainous zone of the eastern Venezuelan massif were groups encountered in relatively compact groups, almost all of them agriculturalists or more properly vegeculturalists. On the other hand those Indians who lived south of the mountains on the north bank of the Lower Orinoco were found in much more dispersed bands, many of them involved in seasonal migrations. Although there were several different groups of Indians who inhabited these several regions of the eastern part of Venezuela, all of them belonged to the Carib linguistic family.

The myth of El Dorado had not yet emerged when the European first appeared on the eastern coast of Venezuela. It was Columbus who initiated the exploration of this part of the Venezuelan shore from the Delta of the Orinoco¹ up to the Boca del Drago,² across the Golfo de Paría, in 1498, during his third voyage to the new continent. In this manner, Paría, the name of an aboriginal region, became "Tierra de Gracia"³ as a memorial to the discovery of the Venezuelan coast first by a European. At this time Columbus prepared the oldest cartographic document relating to the indigenous population located on the southern slope of the mountainous

district of Paria (approximately south of the present Campo Claro and Yaco). Referring to this place he wrote, that "they have an extremely temperate climate and very green lands and trees and [it is] as beautiful as in April in the farmlands of Valencia."⁴ Columbus was so impressed with the region's natural beauty that he christened it "Gardens" (Jardines).⁵ He describes the inhabitants as tall individuals with straight and long hair and with skin much lighter than that of the natives whom he had met in his previous voyages. Columbus differentiated two types of aboriginal dwellings, one type with a very large house with two sloping roofs, and another type of round houses, much more common and which looked to Columbus like "army tents."⁶ He describes the people who approached him as very friendly. They offered them land, bread, fruits, and alcoholic beverages made from corn. They were decorated around their necks with crude necklaces of gold, and had chains of pearls tied around their arms.⁷ These very same ornaments, so carefully described by the explorers, sowed the seeds of greed amongst the Europeans. They sought information as to the origins of such minerals.

Columbus' third voyage was the first occasion on which capture and slavery of the Spanish Main was begun.⁸ That journey marked the beginning of a dark and sad stage in the conquest of Venezuelan territory, which was to endure for several decades, and characterized by violence, disease, and

death. Aboriginal cultures suffered a blow from which they were never to recover.

One year later, Alonso de Ojeda completed the reconnaissance of the coast which much later was to become the northern boundary of the Province of Nueva Andalucía. The first port on the northeastern shore where a brigantine berthed was close by the Indian town known by the name of Maracapana.⁹ Later, on arriving at the Gulf of Cariaco, he described it as a "corner of ocean water." He calculated its extent as about fourteen leagues,¹⁰ and reported that on its coast existed towns with numerous natives.¹¹ On starting this voyage he said that "almost at the mouth or entrance to the gulf was Cumaná which was said to be the first town on the banks of a powerful river."¹²

This stretch of the Venezuelan coast was the first point of attraction for travelers coming from Spain and, frequently, from the islands of Española and Puerto Rico. Some of the residents of Santo Domingo acquired royal authorization¹³ to charter ships and take merchandise to the coast of "Tierra Firme," which was five or seven days away by boat. These Spaniards, in addition to bartering for pearls and gold, dedicated themselves in a most cruel fashion to the capture of natives to serve them as slaves on their return to the Islands.

The frequent marauding trips made by the merchants and slavers of Española and Borrequín (as Puerto Rico was known),

who came on the pretext of finding water, made the coast of Paría the zone of major violence in Caribbea. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas reported as follows:

They went to the river Cumaná, which was seven leagues from there and brought it [the water] in barrels, from which began an outrage of a thousand insults against the Indians.¹⁴

In this manner, the native population of the small off-shore island of Cubagua and others were quickly destroyed during the phase of pearl exploitation, leaving the Spaniards without labor and hence with a desperate need of searching for it on Tierra Firme. That is why "they agreed to make a fleet of two and three ships to assault the people of that Tierra Firme and bring them to this island."¹⁵

The conflict created by the situation did not really provide any chance of success for the pacific settlement attempted between 1515 and 1516 by Franciscan missionaries on the banks of the Río Cumaná (or Manzanares), and by the Dominicans in the neighboring province of Santa Fe.¹⁶

A few years later these same religious orders again chose the coast of Cumaná for a new attempt at peaceful colonization. This time with the participation of farmers and with more effective evangelization, they attempted to follow the ideas of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas who had recommended the establishment of an agricultural colony in his many sermons. This, he thought, was the best means of permanently settling the white population in that territory. Despite his good intentions and notwithstanding that he

received a legal guarantee (in the form of a capitulación) regarding the tranquility and the success of colonization, Las Casas could not prevent some of his companions, who were not in the least interested in land cultivation, which meant hard labor, from giving free rein to their lust for the gilded ore. Soon an increasing number committed themselves to the search for gold, pearls, and slaves.

The logical consequence of such a development was the total failure of the peaceful attempts at colonization. The murder of priests was used as a justification for the excessive reprisals adopted by the Royal Tribunal against the natives. They organized "certain fleets of warships to lay waste those provinces and to enslave them."¹⁷

The eastern Indians, for their, part, in order to defend themselves and to keep the entire native province and their neighbors informed of the Spanish attacks, developed an efficient system of communication through Indian couriers (chasques) and smoke signals (humadas).¹⁸ They were charged with informing their compatriots of the arrival of their enemies, and this they were able to do with extraordinary speed. The chronicles report that "within four hours it was known throughout the land and we believe that it was known and the news spread over a twenty league area as if the messengers were on wings."¹⁹

Another resource which attracted the economic interests through this zone was salt, which from 1503 was a persistent

factor in the reasons for locating a fortress or tower in the arid and dry territory of the peninsula of Araya.²⁰

In 1521, a fortress was initiated on Araya by Gonzalo de Ocampo, on the banks of the Río Cumaná. This was established half a league from the Río Cumaná, a settlement of Spaniards which was called Nueva Toledo (later to become the site of Cumaná).²¹ Apparently, however, this was only an unsuccessful attempt, which, according to Bartolomé de las Casas, failed because "the Indians were continually escaping from all over the area, and without them the Spaniards from all the Indies never thought that they could survive . . ."²²

Thus, Nueva Toledo was reduced to a garrison which fulfilled the function of maintaining the natives submissive, and of guaranteeing the survival of the townsmen and the prosperous pearling center of Nueva Cadiz, or Cubagua. For this reason the territory of Cumaná constituted an integral part of Cubagua's support system, which explains the continual eagerness on the part of those of Cubagua to extend and impose their jurisdiction over Cumaná. For the townsmen of Cubagua the water from the Río Manzanares was vital, just as were the Indians whom they succeeded in capturing in order to use for the purpose of diving for pearls, cultivating the soil and digging out gold and other precious metals. Such aspirations were finally satisfied with the definite establishment of a fortress in 1523, which later was to develop into an important commercial center.²³

In this part of "Tierra India," Indian labor became a factor of primary importance in the early years of pearling, which simultaneously also became one of the principal causes of the decrease of the aboriginal population. The inhuman type of work which the Indians were made to undertake gave them little hope of surviving long. They were taken in canoes (barquillos) under the command of a Spanish overseer, who, when they had arrived out in the sea

three and four estados [six to eight meters] in depth, ordered [them] to submerge themselves in the water and collect from the ground the oysters containing pearls and filled several nets with them which they carried around their necks or tied to a rope to which they were tied, and with or without them they came up to breathe.²⁴

The Spanish overseer kept them diving without any break until sunset, or as long as their physical condition permitted further diving. Their nourishment consisted of fish including such food as the oyster, a piece of cazabe (manioc bread) and maize. At night time their beds were the bare ground and for warmth they were allowed to cover themselves with tree leaves up to their feet, which were always kept uncovered and tied to a tree stump. This cruel means of security reflected the fear that they might attempt to escape from their prospective watery graveyards. Nevertheless, the Spaniards constantly lost native laborers, in part because they were attacked by sharks and eels²⁵ or otherwise from the day to day malnourishment which steadily reduced their powers of resistance to a variety of diseases, and the

punishing work. Among the sicknesses from which they most commonly suffered and died are vividly described those of "blood coming from the mouth and ears" and bloody stools and a tightness of the chest due to [the fact that] half their lives [were spent] without breathing."²⁶

In 1530, the fort which symbolized the European impact and hallmarked the decrease of the natives of that region was destroyed by an earthquake, of which Bartolomé de las Casas said

The land in many parts of the plains and in the small ridge of the mountains, let out through [a series of] streams of water, [dark] like ink, black and salty, which stunk of cracked rocks and sulphur. A mountain chain of the gulf which is called Cariaco, which goes more than fourteen leagues inland, opened so much that it remains divided and forms a great valley . . .²⁷

He added that many houses of straw and wood inhabited by natives collapsed, causing a great number of deaths.

Herrera and Tordecilla note that "many people died of drowning or stunned and shocked by the earthquakes."²⁸

In 1533, the Real Audiencia granted territorial jurisdiction to the island of Cubagua, extending from Maracapana up to Culata on the Gulf of Cariaco, and inland eighty leagues.²⁹ The residents of the town on the island constructed a new fort for securing the supply of pearls, seed-pearls, guanín, gold and slaves.

With the expeditions that reconnoitred the eastern coastal part of the region, cruelty and violence continued, which together with the fierce and bloody resistance which

the natives offered led to the establishment of the rather special characteristics of the settlement process of that region. Thus, the chronicles of the time, to which reference has been made, mention that the aboriginal population was numerous in the period of contact between the Europeans and Indians, but within two generations had been reduced to a mere trace.

The northern coastal sector made up of the double peninsula Araya-Paria was where they found the rich salt deposits, especially towards the western end, a trading place for the Spaniards and frequently visited by European smugglers (Figure 17). The vegetation there was poor, as it continues to be today, caused by a combination of low precipitation (annual mean of under 500 millimeters) and extremely high temperatures. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas described the zone as "that shore [is] so full of thistles (cardones) that have such strong thorns, that a man armed with slashing weapons would not dare but tactfully move around it."³¹

The other more southerly orographic formation is, like the peninsula, Cretaceous in age, but is formed by materials which have not been metamorphosed. It was inhabited at contact by concentrated groups of Indians, whom the inhabitants of the coast called "Tagares" or "Serranos."³² Of these Tagares, those who lived in the valleys with more abundant vegetation and favored by a plentiful supply of

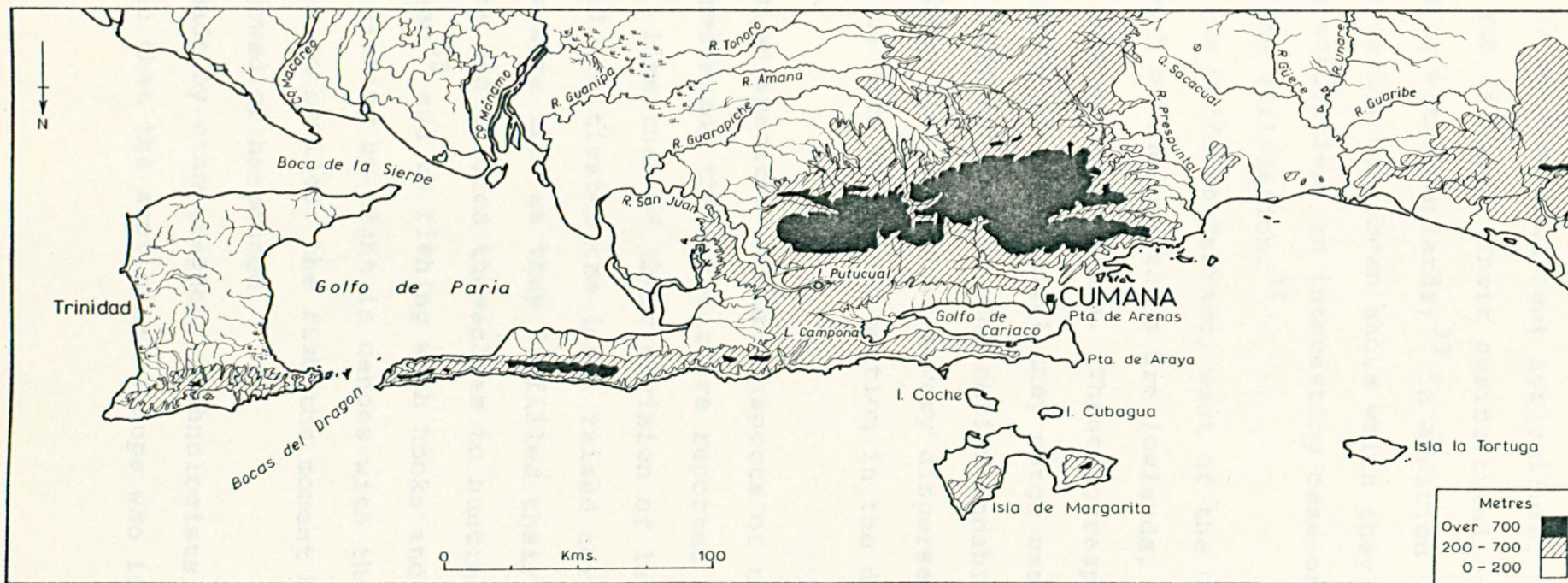


Figure 17. The situation of Santa Inés de Cumaná, Venezuela

water, had developed an incipient agriculture, in combination with hunting and fishing. Their agricultural products were used for trading with Spaniards;³³ in addition these Indians had some huts on the Caribbean shore which they used during their fishing activities, an interesting case of inter-ecological niche utilization.³⁴

East of the Golfo de Cariaco, west of the Golfo de Paría, and north of the mountains are lowlands, a plain which forms part of the western plains. These correspond to a tabular topography of mesas until they merge east and westwards into deltaic sediments. The native inhabitants here seem to have been distributed in a very dispersed manner, possessing no centers worthy of mention in the documents of the period.

In so far as specific cultural aspects of the eastern Indians are concerned, the chroniclers reported certain peculiarities, like that of their division of labor. The women apparently cultivated the land, raised corn and vegetables, at the same time as they fulfilled their domestic functions. The men devoted themselves to hunting with bows, arrows and lasso³⁵ and to fishing with hooks and arrows.³⁶ They would go fishing by night in canoes with the light from flaming torches to bewilder the fish the moment before they were to be arrowed or harpooned.

Studies made by ethnographers, ethnologists, and anthropologists agree that the aboriginal groups who inhabited

east of Venezuela belonged to the great Carib family (see Sauer's division in Figure 16).

The aboriginal population of Venezuela has been classified in different ways, according to the several authors who are considered. Lisandro Alvarado, basing himself on the descriptions of Alexander von Humboldt, divided the Indians into "mountain" (monteses) and "plains" (llaneros) tribal groups. For Julio C. Salas' classification the most important cultural trait was the warlike activity of certain groups. On that basis, he grouped those of eastern Venezuela into a raza guerrera, distinguishing them from the raza suave, or gentle people of the west.³⁷ More recent studies, such as that by Alfred Métraux³⁸ group the northeastern Indians in a cultural province of "Cumaná." According to this author, that province was characterized by the presence of Andean cultural influences superimposed on Guayana-Amazon characteristics. On the other hand, Murdock, in his "South American Culture Areas," includes the eastern population in the Caribbean cultural area, which he identifies with particular characteristics.³⁹ The Handbook of South American Indians groups these Indians within a generalized "Circum-Caribbean tribes" zone.⁴⁰ Acosta Saignes agrees with this regionalization, though he divides the groups into major categories.⁴¹

Mario Sanoja Obediente and Iraida Vargas,⁴² following the categories of Beardsley,⁴³ attempt to define the level

of development of the Venezuelan Indian communities at contact, and they group them in the semi-permanent sedentary type.⁴⁴ These investigators point out that among the eastern Indians a variety of types of housing existed, from temporary lean-to shelter which they constructed on the banks of the rivers or near the ocean, to the stable or permanent dwellings of substantial size and varied construction.⁴⁵ The organization of the communities of this type corresponded to exogamous patrilineal clans. It appears from the documents that each group occupying a village or hamlet formed one extended and interrelated clan.⁴⁶

The settlement pattern of the natives of eastern Venezuela seems to have been significantly influenced by ecological conditions. These permitted the specialization and diversification of cultivation of certain plants, such as maize, manioc, plantains, and others.⁴⁷ The productivity of this resource base guaranteed the group's survival and affected in part the various type of social organization.

The European population of Tierra Firme, just as it contributed to the formation of expeditions of conquest and discovery also apportioned the labor needed for agricultural and mining labors, both in the Greater Antilles as well as in the pearling activities off Cubagua and the neighboring islands of Margarita and Coche. This process generated the violence which characterized relations between Spaniards and natives, in addition to the jurisdictional

conflicts among the Spanish, which resulted in practically civil war. All of which brought about not only the delay in the development of colonial population, but also the rapid decrease of native population, their social disintegration, and the endemic poverty which soon characterized the majority of aboriginal groups.⁴⁸ Only with the establishment of the mission communities, and later doctrinas, did the integration of this territory into the Spanish colonial system proceed further.

ENDNOTES

1. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia General de las Indias (Madrid, 1875), in Descubrimiento y conquista de Venezuela, FHCV, Vol. 54 (Caracas, 1962), pp. 110-13.
2. La Boca del Dragón is marked in Figure 18.
3. Colón called Agujas (Alcatraces); to those lands which he perceived as the most beautiful in the world he gave the name "Tierra de Gracia."
4. Crístobal Colón, Tercer Viaje, 1498, in Descubrimiento y Conquista de Venezuela, FHCV, Vol. 54 (Caracas, 1962), p. 16.
5. Ibid. It is clear that the section of coast Colón described in his third voyage was a port of the Gulf of Paría, presently in Sucre State.
6. Ibid. The housing of the Paría Indians was of a round type; the differentiation between distinctive types appears to have been made on the basis of the location of the central meeting place.
7. Ibid., p. 11, "muchos traian piezas de oro al pescuezo, y algunos atados a las brazos algunas perlas."
8. Columbus initiated the appropriation of Indians in eastern Venezuela.
9. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia General de las Indias, op. cit. He notes that Moracapana and Cumaná were 27 leagues from Margarita Island.
10. Gonzalez Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, Historia General y Natural de las Indias, I and II Parts in Cronistas de Indias, FHCV, Vol. 59 (Caracas, 1962), p. 24.
11. According to the first colonial accounts the population living along the Cumaná was very dense, and a settlement of that name did exist.
12. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia General de las Indias, op. cit., p. 154. Here they refer to the narrow

- entry formed by the small extension of deltaic land of the Río Manzanares and the Punta de Araya.
13. Fray Pedro Aguado, Recopilación Historial de Venezuela, in Descubrimiento y conquista de Venezuela, FHCV, Vol. 62 (Caracas, 1963), Vol. I, Chap. I, pp. 21 et seq.
 14. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia General de las Indias, op. cit., pp. 184-85. It is noted that "they agreed to prepare an invasion fleet of two or three vessels to go and attack the people of the said Tierra Firme and bring them back to this island, and to do with them what had been done with those [Indians] that had been brought from the Yucayos [Lucayos] Islands."
 15. Ibid.
 16. New Cadiz was founded on the island of Cubagua after the early pearling discoveries had been made. See
 17. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia General de las Indias, op. cit., p. 203.
 18. Chasques were Indians specially trained to carry official messages over long distances. They apparently ran quickly, and in relays, and the existence of the term chasque in eastern Venezuela speaks of affinities with Andean practices where they were used extensively by the Inca authorities in Peru and Ecuador.
 19. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia General de las Indias, op. cit., p. 207.
 20. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Viajes por la costa de Paría (Madrid, 1923), p. 2. This chronicler recounts the exploration of the Paría region from 1478, and the links of the explorers with the Sevilla merchants.
 21. The name Nueva Toledo was that given by Ocampo to the fort that was used until Montesinos founded Nueva Córdoba, and then under Serpa it finally became Cumaná.
 22. Antonio Herrera, "Décadas del Nuevo Mundo," in Venezuela en las Cronistas de Indias (Part 2), FHCV, Vol. 59 (Caracas, 1962), p. 38.

23. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia General de las Indias, op. cit., Chap. CLXV, Book III, pp. 233-34.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Antonio Herrera Tordecilla, cited in Centeno Grau, Estudios Sismológicos (Caracas, Academia Nacional de Ciencias Matemáticas, 1969), p. 326.
29. Pablo Ojer, La formación del Oriente Venezolano, (Caracas, 1966), p. 117. See also Pablo Vila, Geografía de Venezuela, (Caracas, 1965), Vol. 2.
30. Marco Aurelio Vila, Aspectos Geográficos del Estado Sucre (Caracas, Corporacion Venezolano de Fomento, 1965), p. 33.
31. J. S. Beard, "Notas acerca de la vegetación de la Península de Paría," Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. X, No. 65-66 (1945-46):193.
32. Fray Bartolome de las Casas, Historia General de las Indias, op. cit., pp. 206-208.
33. Ibid. The Tagares apparently came down to the coast to trade their maize with the Spaniards.
34. The Indians accomplished their fishing in a relatively brief period in the year, and thus spent more time in their cultivation plots.
35. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia General de las Indias, op. cit., p. 147.
36. Herrera, "Décadas del Nuevo Mundo," op. cit., pp. 411-415.
37. Julio Salas, Tierra Firme (Mérida, 1908), pp. 179-181.
38. Alfred Métraux, "La civilization Guayano-Amazoienne et ses Provinces Culturelles," Acta Americana, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1918): 130-153.

39. G. P. Murdock, "Outline of South American Cultures," Behaviour Science Outline, Vol. II (New Haven, 1951), reprinted from Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 7, No. 4, The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
40. Julian H. Steward (ed.), "The Circumcaribbean Tribes, an Introduction," in Handbook of South American Indians, (Washington, 1954), Vol. 4.
41. Miguel Acosta Saignes, Estudios de Etnología de Venezuela, Ediciones de la Biblioteca de la Universidad Central de Venezuela (Caracas, 1974), pp. 40-43.
42. Marco Sanoja e Isaida Vargas, Antiguas Formaciones y Modos de Producción Venezolanos (Caracas, Monte Avila Editores, 1974), pp. 148 et seq.
43. Richard Beardsley, "Functional and Evolutionary Implications of Community Patterning," in Seminars of Archaeology (Caracas, 1966).
44. Marco Sanoja e Isaida Vargas, op. cit., pp. 159-170.
45. Ibid.
46. The historical sources do not permit a detailed reconstruction of the population size of Indian groups in eastern Venezuela at contact. The only reports were of "many" or "thousands" of Indians, especially in the mountain zone. However, one has to bear in mind that it is possible that the montane groups' settlements were more visible than their counterparts on the plains. For the second half of the sixteenth century Rosenblat (La población indígena y el mestizaje en América, (Buenos Aires, Editorial Nova, 1954), Vol. I, pp. 50-60) calculates some 300,000 Indians for Venezuela in total.
47. David Harris, "The origins of agriculture in the tropics", American Scientist, 60, 1972: 180-193.
48. For an excellent interpretation of the wider implications of culture conflict see Carl Sauer, The Early Spanish Main (Berkeley, 1965). See also the interpretation of D. J. Robinson of the contact situation, in "Venezuela and Colombia," in H. Blakemore and C. T. Smith (eds.) Latin America: Geographical Perspectives (London, 1971), pp. 189-92.

CHAPTER X

ABORIGINAL PATTERNS AND THEIR MODIFICATION
BY THE SPANISH CONQUEST

Notwithstanding the early contacts of the Columbian voyages, the actual impact of Europeans on the landscape of eastern Venezuela was somewhat delayed. The fundamental reasons for that delay have already been outlined, but it should be noted that the same reasons were significant not only in the initial process of settlement, but also in the second half of the seventeenth century and in the mid-eighteenth century. Up to the 1560's, only on the northern central margin were there small centers of population, established by the people of Cubagua with the dual purpose of capturing slaves and obtaining some subsistence foods.

Maracapana and San Miguel de Neverí, like the fort raised on the shores of the Río Manzanares, enjoyed their existence to the pearl fisheries engaged in by the townsmen of Nueva Cadiz, on the island of Cubagua. Once that source of wealth was exhausted the population of Nueva Cadiz had to migrate to the nearby island of Margarita or the coast of Cabo de la Vela, to search out new sources of ephemeral wealth from the pearl beds. The island of Margarita thus inherited the benefits of the earlier economic phase of

development, and, indeed, solicited jurisdictional control over the area.

The northern coast was also the scene of the unsuccessful attempts at resettling aboriginal populations, made by Franciscans in the "province and town of Cumaná"¹ and by Dominicans, in their province called Santa Fe (near Pozuelos). At the place where the Franciscans constructed the convent and Indian village, a fort was built in 1523, only to be destroyed in 1530 by the violent earthquake which shook the entire region. Afterwards, the people from Cubagua substituted that fort for another which existed until the time when Father Francisco Montesinos established Nueva Córdoba, with Spaniards originating in the islands of Española and Margarita, together with Guayqueries Indians and others of the surrounding areas. The fort on the banks of the Río Manzanares was a simple stopover for expeditions of slavers and, essentially, a place which the Cubaguans used to supply themselves with fresh water from the Río Manzanares, agricultural products of the locals and Indian slaves to be used in pearl diving. Montesinos had established the town of Maracapaná at a place ten leagues from the fort and a little earlier, located between the present populations of Lecherías and Pozuelos. This site was protected by the Morro del Magdalena, presently Morro de Barcelona or simply El Morro. The political organization was established by the appointments of a judge and a mayor with an initial

population of 30 Spaniards, among whom they distributed the Indians who inhabited the area. The jurisdiction included a territory extending 30 leagues along the coast and seven leagues inland (i.e. 1300 square miles). It was not long before the administrative importance that soon became attached to the new settlement aroused the jealousy and rivalry of the people of Maracapaná who attacked them.

In its political organization, Nueva Córdoba could count upon a City Council, officials of the Real Hacienda, and, by disposition of the Dominican Order of the province of Santa Cruz, was converted into a key population center, for the pacification and conversion of the Indians of the neighboring provinces, especially the friendly Arawak groups.² In addition, it constituted one of the strategic departure points for the later search for "el Dorado" in Guayana, the area south of the Río Orinoco (Figure).

The region where Nueva Córdoba was established corresponded to a seismic zone of great instability; the land consisted of alluvial flats enclosed between the Gulf of Cariaco and the Caribbean Sea on the north and the folds of mountains to the south.³ The selection of this place was due, amongst other reasons, to the favorable conditions at the new site, a location on the banks of the Río Cumana, (or Manzanares), which were described by the municipal council of the city as: a settlement involving favorable dispositions of land, water, and people more or less near the

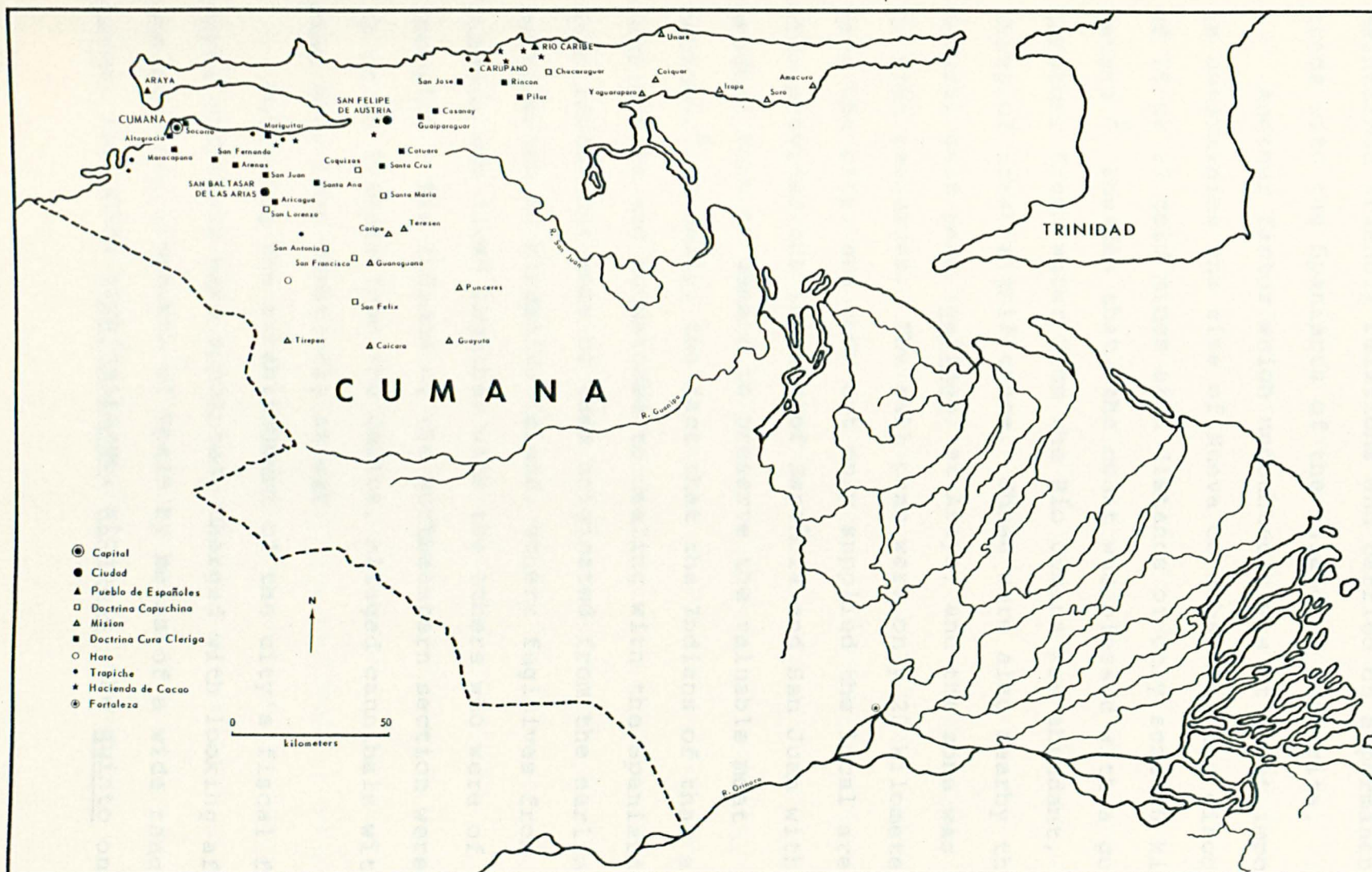


Figure 18. Settlements in Cumaná Province

Aruacas which have begun to arrive . . ."⁴ The Arawaks maintained friendly relations and carried on a permanent trade with the Spaniards of the island of Margarita.

Another factor which undoubtedly was of great importance in determining the site of Nueva Córdoba, was the discovery of 15 or 20 gold mines at a distance of only some 20 kilometers.⁵ Besides that, the coast was blessed with a good harbour, fresh water from the Río Cumana was abundant, something of great significance. These were also nearby the natural salt pans (salinas) at Araya, and the zone was rich in fish resources. The salt pans were only 20 kilometers from the city, and they not only supplied the local area but also provided the islands of Española and San Juan with a product much in demand to preserve the valuable meat rations.⁶ Finally, the fact that the Indians of that area were gentle and accustomed to dealing with the Spaniards was also important; some of them originated from the earlier settlements on Margarita Island, others fugitives from Cubagua who lived together with the others who were of the locality. The Indians of the northeastern section were about 15 or 20 leagues from the Caribs, alleged cannibals with whom they were constantly at war.

Following the establishment of the city's fiscal function, royal officials were appointed, charged with looking after the economic interests of Spain by means of a wide range of taxes, including almajorifazgo, alcabala, the quinto on gold

and others.⁷ Thereafter the townsmen of Nueva Córdoba began to petition that their new settlement be given the title and status of "ciudad." However, one year after the initial settlement, the authorities of the Real Audiencia of Santo Domingo considered that the appointment of even a corregidor was not merited because the "town" was simply a hamlet composed of ten straw dwellings or better, huts. They decided that the town and region be placed under the supervision of the government of Venezuela.⁸

In 1567, the settlers on the island of Margarita, through the Real Audiencia, requested the Crown that the jurisdiction of the small and nearby settlements of Nueva Córdoba and Maracapaná⁹ be entrusted to them, since it was the Margariteños who were continually engaged in the acquisition of Indian slaves from those places. At the same time members of the Order of Santo Domingo, of the province of Santa Cruz, had as their evangelization territory all of the coast coastal area from Maracapaná up to the Río Orellana, a distance of at least 200 leagues.¹⁰

In 1569, the territory which included the northeastern part of Venezuela was conceded as land under the control of Fernandez de Serpa. The capitulación (agreement) established that the province of Nueva Andalucía, under its government, would comprise 300 leagues in latitude and as many in longitude. The northwestern part of the jurisdiction was to be bounded by the Ríos Morro and Unare and to continue east up

to the Río Orinoco (Huyapari) and the Amazon. From that point in time, the city became the functional administrative regional center.

With Fernandez de Serpa a new policy of colonization was initiated and an effective impulse was given to the Hispanic population of the region. That that was the case may be demonstrated not only by the wording of the capitulation, but more importantly by the participation of a considerable number of settlers who began to devote themselves to the cultivation of land and the application of new techniques for the reduction of the Indians. They had learned from the experience acquired in earlier decades that only by persuasion and good treatment could they effectively make use of the Indian labor, an indispensable condition with regard to the survival of the Spanish. For such reasons it was advised that to maintain the natives close to the city and not cause them any form of harm was the best course of action. The use of a number of negros in the projected cane plantations and in the sugar mills was also carefully considered. Serpa introduced a relatively large quantity of cattle, which he had obtained in Margarita, to the extensive grassy plains (llanos).¹¹

Serpa began to reconstruct the city with 23 of the settlers who accompanied him on his expeditions, plus the 17 who had remained in the place; the new settlement soon became known as Cumaná.¹² He initiated the outline of the

principal square and streets, built the church and, maintaining a determined order, they began constructing the dwellings of the new townsfolk.¹³

In spite of the fact that Cumaná began her existence with only 40 Spaniards, the report of Lope de las Varillas indicates that in eight days the city had 150 straw roofed cane houses, which is understandable when one notes that Diego Fernandez de Serpa disembarked in the port of Cumaná 280 soldiers in addition to their women and children.¹⁴

With the reconstruction of the urban center, the authorities were commissioned to administer the civil and ecclesiastic life of the settlement. Immediately, in order to guarantee the food supply, their well-being, and the economic base they began a process of expansion towards the jurisdictional limits up to and across the plains, with the ultimate goal that of reaching Guayana. In order to make known to the neighboring Indian chiefs the presence of the new government and the assistance that they needed with food supply, they sent interpreters to the nearby Indian groups.

The city also expanded its effective space towards the salt mines and fisheries of Araya, located some four leagues north, in the northwesternmost part of the Peninsula of Paría, thanks to an expedition composed of four Indian chiefs and 300 natives under the command of Spanish captains. The salt mines and the abundance of fish in this zone provided a firm economic base for the modest "city" of Cumaná. In

less than eight days, they had obtained more than 4000 fanegas of salt and more than 2000 arrobas of dried fish, a circumstance which guaranteed the immediate possession of the zone in the name of the government of this city.¹⁵

The food supply area was extended even further to the north, when a commission was sent to the island of Margarita for the purpose of acquiring cattle and horses for the urban settlers.¹⁶

The intensive activity of city expansion was also directed eastwards by means of an expedition which traversed the shores of the Gulf of Cariaco coming to the eastern end of the Peninsula of Paría to find out about the living conditions of the native settlements which were said to exist in that zone. The route which they followed through the mountainous district of Paría was described as, "harsh land and rough going."¹⁷ Their return brought the news of the existence of lands "very [well] cultivated with plantations of corn, manioc, sweet potatoes, squash, although [it was] not [yet] harvest season"¹⁸ and with abundant hunting resources. They also found large numbers of chickens, which indicated that the process of Spanish cultural diffusion had already begun in that region.

The Indians of Paría decorated themselves with gold ornaments, obtained from the Arawaks in exchange for salt and Indian slaves, and with pearls which they obtained by trading with northern coastal tribes. With the Spaniards

they exchanged those jewels for bonetes (glass jars), knives, and hooks.¹⁹

Since the governor was anxious that the existence of the city of Cumaná be widely known, and on the basis of the friendship and commercial relations which the Arawaks maintained with Spaniards from the island of Margarita, he planned a visit to the far and prosperous lands which they inhabited in the valley of the Río Esequibo.²⁰

The expansion to the south towards the plains, crossing through the ridge of the Sierras de Bergantín was made by a group of explorers whose captain described the new territory as: ". . . that rough land, but fertile in provisions,"²¹ [and] . . . on top of the mountain there was a plain of about half a league where a large number of natives lived."²² It seems as though the Indians referred to in the report had chosen that place as a refuge, due to the Spanish incursions and the frequent skirmishes with the neighboring Caribs. From the top of that sierra, located south of the Río Neverí, the Spaniards looked out over the immensity and vastness of the plains, a panorama partially concealed by the smoke haze which lingered from the fires used by the Indians in their hunting activities, or for opening trails during the dry season.

The council of the city of Cumaná, attempting to increase urban-rural inter-relationships, granted lands for cultivation and grazing to the settlers and proceeded to distri-

bute the aboriginal population which inhabited the surrounding rural area, "from the promontory of the Gulf of Cariaco and the valley of Tagariche as far as the valleys of Maracapana and Neverí,"²³ an area approximately 36 leagues long by 14 wide. The council also specified which lands should be used for cultivation and which for livestocking.²⁴

The settlement process demonstrates how Nueva Toledo, a fort position, gave way to Nueva Córdoba, the first urban settlement of Europeans in the eastern part of the South American continent, which served as the basis for the definitive establishment of Cumaná by Diego Fernandez de Serpa. Once the distribution of the rural land, and more important, the Indian inhabitants, had been accomplished, then the survival of the city was assured.

From the city of Cumaná there began the reconaissance of the "land and territory of the Neverí River"²⁵ which led to the establishment of a new urban center, Santiago de los Caballeros, a point of departure for the penetration and exploration of the eastern plains. The foundation of that city was placed in the hands of Captain Francisco Martinez, having as its jurisdiction the native provinces of Píritu, Cumanagoto, and Chacopata.²⁶ The neighboring Indians and those who inhabited the region of as far as 15 and 16 leagues away helped the new population with food for both men and animals.

Santiago de los Caballeros, established in the

beginning of 1570, was located 60 kilometers west of the city of Cumaná, on the border of the Quebrada de Guatapanare, in the shadow of El Morro, near the present town of Pozuelos. Life in this urban center was unstable due to her proximity of the fierce and hostile tribes of Cumanagotos, Chacopatas, and Palenques from the upper Unare river basin. From the city, however, Serpa directed the explorations of the territory of the Píritu Indians. Edging along the Río Unare, he moved out into plains until he reached the land of the Palenques "hemmed in by Barutaima" located in the upper reaches of the Río Unare, in the present district of Zaraza, in the State of Guárico. According to Lope de las Varillas the "Palenque de Barutaima" was populated only by male Indians, their wives and children were to be found in a town further inland.²⁷ It is highly probable that the Spanish had encountered a fortified Indian camp built to defend the territory occupied by the Indians who were described as "very gentle, [and who had large patches] and extensive high tree plantations, and streams which run through them."²⁸ In the grasslands (llanos) they found lakes with quantities of birds and a great richness of fish and a wide variety of hunting animals. The inhabitants were devoted to agriculture especially that of cultivating maize, from which they obtained the beverage called pichipuro, and they lived in a constant state of warfare with their neighbors the Caribs.

The reconnaissance of the plains was extended south to the province of Caboruco (Cabruta)²⁹ where they remained until October, when summer began.³⁰ The native province, according to the report of Lope de las Varillas, included all the area southwards to the north bank of the Río Orinoco from which it was calculated that one would need from six to eight days to go downriver to the sea.

The defense of Cumaná was difficult because of the physiographic features of the site and the large distance which separated it from the other sixteenth century centers of population. Frequently it proved impossible to resist the attacks of the warlike tribes which inhabited that region, and for a while a great part of the settlement was abandoned. One of the attacks of major consequence which Cumaná had to suffer, and which kept its inhabitants in a state of siege was that which occurred in 1570. An authority in Margarita later reported that he sent

ships, people and supplies and all [that] which was necessary with one of my sergeants who [managed to relieve the besieged group] and took them away from the barbarians; and all [these] people who were without a government and so needy--the many important people who had come to serve your Majesty finally arrived in Margarita where the best was done to accomodate them.³¹

That specific Indian attack was the work of the Cumana-gotos and Chacopatas Indians who had knowledge of the expeditionary force who were returning from Cabruta, who could leave as a rearguard only the dying governor and 80 of the 100 soldiers who had set out with him. Such an

unfortunate event did little but increase the desperation on the part of those Spaniards who were forced to migrate to Margarita; from there several dispersed to different places of the Kingdom of New Granada, others to Caracas and Barburata, a few returned to Spain via Guatemala.³²

Three months after that tragic event, the captain and the local justice, not being able to find a means of support, and having been denied any grant of encomiendas, abandoned Cumaná leaving in the city only four or five soldiers and a few Spaniards.³³ The belligerent attitude maintained by the Indian groups of the region forced the Spanish authorities to authorize incursions along the northeastern coast in order to capture hostile Indians and enslave them. For the Spaniards the only good Indian was an enslaved Indian.

Cumaná had to maintain a permanent defense not only due to the Indian attacks which frequently had to be endured, but also for the reason that from the very earliest date it became, like Santo Tomé de Guayana, a target of the assaults and raids by pirates and foreign privateers. There are many accounts and testimonies with regard to this. Lope de las Varillas, for example, describes the presence of an English privateer on the coast near Cumaná and a Frenchman in the Gulf of Paría, only a short time after the reconstruction of the city. He recounts that the English privateer pretended to be a merchant and requested

he be allowed "trade as he had done on other occasions" with the ulterior motive of attacking and ransacking the city.³⁴ The reason for the enduring interest in the eastern coast on the part of other European countries was the abundance of pearls and the resources of Araya salt mines, a state of affairs which also stimulated the development of contraband, a phenomenon of particular importance in the economic development of eastern Venezuela. Cumaná found itself practically isolated from the neighboring province of Venezuela since land communications were obstructed by the tribes who inhabited the western part of the region.³⁵ Maritime communications, on the other hand, were also made difficult by the war canoes of the Cumanagatos who attacked the boats of Cumaná, destroying the ones filled with corn and other foods. Since the Cumaná coast was not included in ports of call of the Royal fleets of Tierra Firme and New Spain, its geographical isolation was practically total. Cumaná lay at the very margin of the Spanish empire; its only raison d'etre was to provide and protect the rapidly dwindling supplies of precious stones.

The presence of Dutch or Flemish vessels in the port of Araya or Ancón de Refriegas, located near the salt mines of Araya, threatened the very existence of the modest Cumaná. These ships intercepted ships coming from Spain, Puerto Rico (Boriquén), Caracas, and Margarita with the much-

needed supplies for the population of Cumaná. The Dutch not only seized salt, but usually destroyed the vessels which came and went; they would capture their occupants and ask large ransoms for them. In addition, they would hinder the pearling activities, destroying the fishing canoes and otherwise prohibiting the fishermen from acquiring supplies on the coasts (Figure 19).

Finally, Cumaná was also constantly threatened by the expeditions which the Carib Indians periodically made, from the eastern coasts up to the region of Caracas, and out to the islands of Margarita, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo. Those Indians also came from the islands of the Lesser Antilles, especially Dominica, Granada, and neighboring territories. From there they made incursions into the Cumaná coast to attack ships and take captive Spaniards, Indians, and negros alike. The largest group of captives seems to have involved negros, for the Carib Indians took only select Indians captive to later ritually eat them.³⁶

Such constant harassment by foreigners and Indians, to which the townsfolk of the city of Cumaná were exposed, forced them to improvise a rough and ready pallisade to protect the port settlement as well as to maintain a permanent guard of two watchmen located on the hill on the other side of the Gulf of Cariaco, a most strategic look-out point for the safety of the city.³⁷

The necessity of securing the city's defense meant

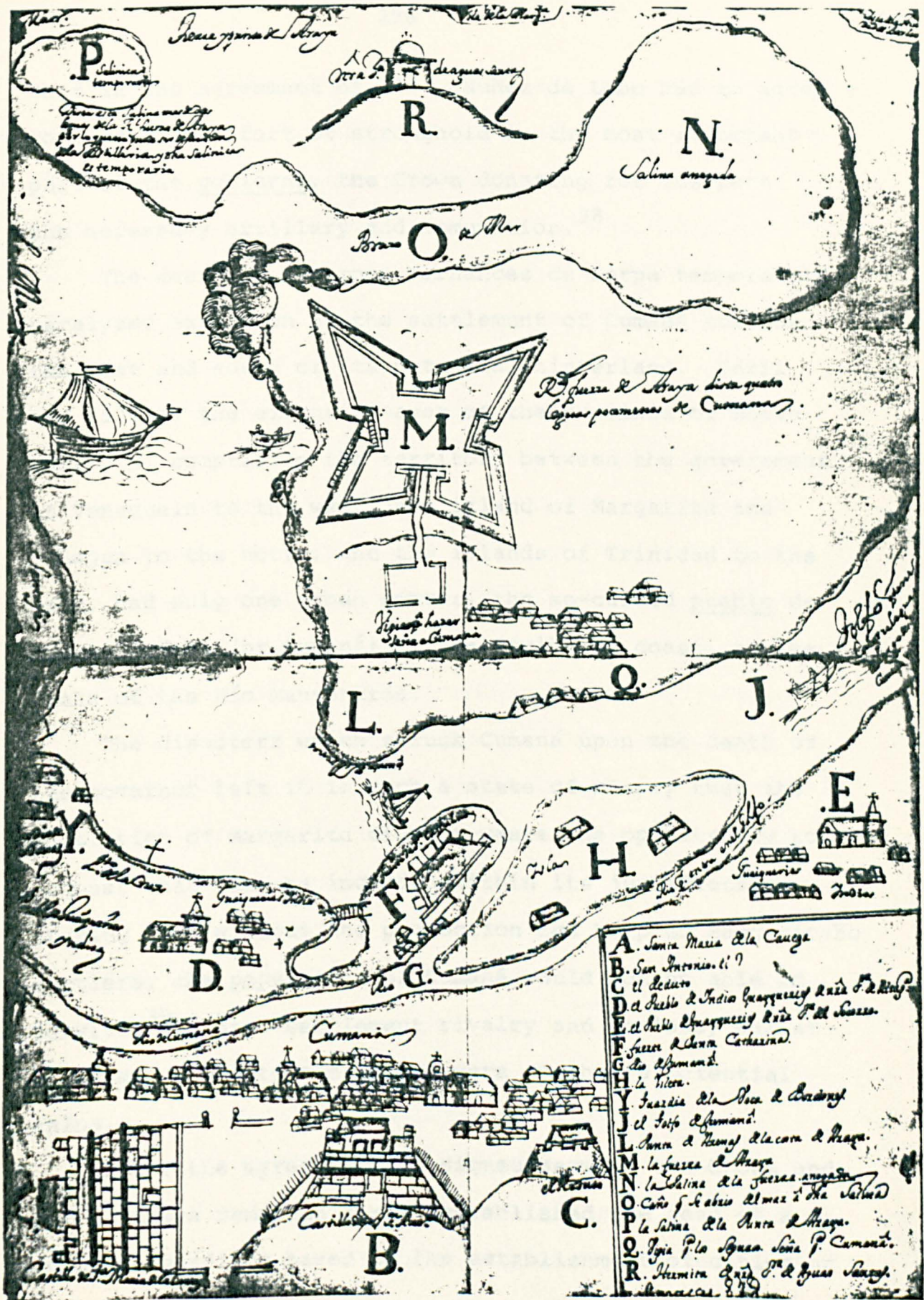


Figure 19. Map of the Araya salt pans and town of Cumana, 1774
 Source: AGI, Mapas y Planos de Venezuela, Map 76, 1774.

that in the agreement of 1587, Nuñez de Lobo had to agree to construct a fort or stronghold in the most important part of the gobierno, the Crown donating for its part the necessary artillery and ammunition.³⁸

The death of governor Fernandez de Serpa temporarily paralyzed expansion of the settlement of Cumaná towards the west and south of its potential hinterland. Until the 1570's, the extensive area of the province of Nueva Andalucía, comprising the territory between the government of Venezuela to the west, the island of Margarita and Cubagua to the north, and the islands of Trinidad to the east, had only one urban center, the so-called pueblo de Nueva Córdoba (or Cumaná) on the Caribbean coast, on the banks of the Río Manzanares.

The disasters which struck Cumaná upon the death of its governor left it in such a state of misery that the population of Margarita did not waste the opportunity to request that they be included within its jurisdiction, arguing that without the protection and help of Margariteño settlers, the population of Cumaná would not be able to survive.³⁹ Inter-settlement rivalry and jealousy was at a maximum. One town's losses were another's potential gains.

After the agreement was signed between the Crown and Serpa, there remained firmly established the need of a colonizing policy based on the establishment of cities or

towns as the fundamental means for achieving the territorial expansion of the Spanish government in the vast region of the Indies. Urban centers were to be the effective instruments with which the belligerent tribes who inhabited the province could be dominated. The town became in theory and fact the outpost as well as the bastion of the Spanish colonial presence.

In 1578, the Lieutenant Governor of Cumaná was assigned the task of following the route toward the legendary Gilded region of Guayana, south of the Orinoco, to establish a town of Spaniards to subdue the natives of that area who were at war. To date it has not been possible to determine whether it was the settlement established in the valley of Cumanacoa, later destroyed by the natives, that resulted from this expedition.⁴⁰ The same person was also assigned the task of establishing another settlement in the province of Píritu with 50 soldiers and reduced Indians. The extant sources⁴¹ place that town some seven leagues from the city of Cumanagoto (Barcelona) and attribute its subsequent depopulation to a revolt of the natives.

Only in the following decade, at the end of the 1580's did the city of Cumaná receive a new impulse with a capitulación to populate and discover the province of Nueva Andalucía, signed by the wealthy Captain Rodrigo Nuñez Lobo.⁴² That instrument confirmed 300 leagues as the

politico-administrative jurisdictional area of Cumaná, extending between the Morro and the Río Unare to the east and the Río Marañón to the south.⁴³ This area included some territory claimed by the province of Venezuela as a result of several expeditions, and the settlement of the city of Cumanagoto.

In addition, there were annexed to the municipal government of Cumaná the islands of Cubagua and Coche, where the settlements of pearlers were established. To these were also added the islands of Tortuga, north of the Cariaco trench, that of Granada, the first island of the Antilles arc, and that of Trinidad. The last island was viewed as the location and base for the exploration and opening of the highly desired wealth of the Guayana region. Trinidad offered not only the advantage of its geographic position at the eastern end of the coast of the gobernación, and close by the mouth of the Río Huyapori or Urapari (Orinoco), but also that of being inhabited by "Indians of Peace."⁴⁴ The Crown's zeal to establish settlements of Spaniards on that island related closely to the necessity of protecting the province in particular, and the Indies in general, from the constant assaults of the English and French pirates, who hoped, or so it was imagined, to take possession of the Caribbean coast.

The Spanish towns which endured until the arrival of Nuñez de Lobo limited themselves to occupying small

enclaves in the coastal area, and were characterized as being small centers with scarcely any facility of inter-communication, and without many possibilities of exploiting Indian labor nor the natural resources of her hinterland. The most important settlement and only center of political-administrative power was Cumaná, which was maintained thanks to the salt mines of Araya and to the exploitation of pearls carried on by her townsmen in the proximities of the island of Margarita. At the beginning of 1588, it could count no more than 24 vecinos (a total population of 120 perhaps), among whom were "many poor people."⁴⁵

Nuñez de Lobo did not begin his settlement campaign through Trinidad nor did he direct himself towards Guayana but rather to the west, towards the rival jurisdictional zone between his government and that of Venezuela, which had been incorporated by Captain García Gonzalez de Silva, and who had an expansion plan involving a move eastward from Caracas, with the clear purpose of conquering the Chacopatas and Cumanagotos. That project had as its basic object the establishment of firm, and permanent land and maritime communications with the east. With his expedition, Gonzalez de Silva tried to establish himself in the place where the city of Santiago de los Caballeros had been but, nevertheless, he finally settled a group of settlers in the lower Unare, in the territory of the cacique Querequerepe⁴⁶ where he established the city of

Espíritu Santo. This settlement was itself later moved to the province of the Quiriquiris in the valley of the Río Tuy⁴⁷ as a consequence of repeated attacks by the Indians who inhabited the valleys of the Ríos Neverí and Unare, which caused the Spaniards' loss of both their haciendas, and also on too many occasions, of their lives.

The settlement expansion of the province of Venezuela towards the territory of the Cumanagotos and Chacopatas continued in 1583 with an expedition of 76 Spaniards which established the town of San Francisco de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles, at the border of the Río Guatapanare at about one kilometer from the site which, a few years later, became the city of Cumanagoto.⁴⁸ Nuestra Señora de los Angeles had a very ephemeral life and was soon deserted on being abandoned by the soldiers who had established it, which was probably a consequence of the attitude assumed by its native population, the Chacopatas, who provoked revolts (guasabaras), surrounded the city and stole the residents' horses.

The province of Venezuela needed to guarantee commercial relations with the eastern settlements, and for that reason had to negotiate with the Indians in order to travel to and fro freely over the roads and sea via which the townsmen of Caracas took cattle to the city of Cumaná, to the island of Margarita and to other areas. Such overland

movements could only be accomplished by the use of large convoys.⁴⁹

The process of eastern settlement continued from Caracas with the expedition of Captain Christopher Columbus. His expedition was composed of two groups, one which went by sea and the other by land, along the road to Guarenas finally arriving at the Morro del Magdalena where they established their camp (real)⁵⁰ in order to found, from there, the city of San Cristobal de la Nueva Ecija de los Cumanagotos in 1586. From the first place where the city was established at "Payquar," it had to be moved five kilometers away because of the continuous Indian attacks linked to the presence of foreigners also interested in attacking and ransacking the city.⁵¹ The new site of the city of Cumanagoto was on the borders of the Guatapanare, where the inhabitants had the protection of the river and the advantage of lands suitable for cultivation.⁵²

The fact that the people occupied with pearling were provided with corn, cattle, other agricultural products from the province of Venezuela, forced "the gobierno of the East to maintain good relations with that fertile province [and] lands of great pastures."⁵³ In 1588, the new governor of Cumaná bought from the townsmen of Caracas 1700 cows at 1-1/2 pesos a head; some horses at 20 pesos each, mares at 50 reales and sheep and goats at 20 reales,⁵⁴ totalling 8000 ducats for the cost of those animals, plus

3000 pesos for transportation. The transportation of an animals resulted so difficult, not only on account of the 300 leagues which they had to cover to their destination, but also because it was a deserted and mountainous road threatened by surprise attacks by Indians which meant that a large number of people had to be hired to assist in the livestock transfer.

Nuñez de Lobo directed the colonization expansion into the territory inhabited by the Chacopatas and established Nuestra Señora de la Victoria, three leagues from the city of Cumanagoto, in the place where it was said that Fernandez de Serpa did.⁵⁵ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the place which that Spanish settlement occupied, located on the edge of the Quebrada Hoces, and on the north bank of the Río Neverí, was known as Carapapano.⁵⁶ The rapid failure of that settlement was attributed to the continuous Indian attacks which prevented the necessary access to water and food supplies, and to the destruction of agricultural crops as a consequence of the existing bitter rivalry between the new settlers and the townsmen of the city of Cumanagoto.⁵⁷

Among the various aspects which should be noted as resulting from the action of Nuñez de Lobo one has to credit to him the accomplishment of farming, in a definite manner, the enterprise of settlement in the territory between the basin of the Río Neverí and the eastern slope of the

Río Unare. He accomplished this conquest through the nomination of a Lieutenant Governor in the city of Cumanagoto, as a dependent of the authorities of the city of Cumaná. Nevertheless, the Spanish population which inhabited that jurisdiction was still numerically insignificant, the fact that the tribes of the region were still not pacified and maintained their extremely hostile posture created real obstacles to the settlement process.

The governor of Nueva Andalucía and the city of Cumaná receive a positive stimulus when the new governor, Don Francisco de Vides, annexed to the Cumaná jurisdiction the island of Tabaco (Tobago). It was also proposed that the island of Granada be populated to dislodge the Caribs who were the scourge of so many reaches of the coast.⁵⁸

Population and settlement expanded steadily to the east, with animal husbandry as the fundamental activity in the colonization process near the Río Unare.⁵⁹ In 1594, on the banks of that river, at the place of Aripata, in the province of Píritu, Francisco de Vides established the city of Nuestra Señora de Clarines, with a population of 60 townsmen in which were included married couples as well as single migrants, both men and women.⁶⁰ This new urban center had a very short life, because the natives never stopped stealing and killing cattle belonging to the town. Eventually all were forced to leave the city.⁶¹

In 1596, Vides sent one of his lieutenants to establish

the city of Nueva Flechilla de San Cristobal de Clarines, on the banks of the Río Guatapanare, the first inhabitants being vecinos (townsmen) of the city of Cumanagoto.⁶²

Nueva Flechilla, as with the majority of the eastern urban centers, was affected by absenteeism, a fact which brought about the enactment of the Royal Order of 1597. According to that, all residents (vecinos) were obliged to return to Nueva Flechilla if they had been granted repartimientos in that city, even if they were now residing in other parts. A strict time limit was put forward and penalties for shortcomings included the loss of all rights.⁶³

At the end of the sixteenth century, in 1599, Capt. Garcia Carrasco established the settlement of San Juan de la Laguna (Uchire or Cariamana), located on the shores of the Río Uchire, near the ocean, with an expedition which left the gobierno of Venezuela. Uchire also suffered depopulation, notwithstanding the fact that it found itself partially protected from Indian attacks by the dense coastal vegetation.

Uchire's function was as a stopover on the route which linked the province of Venezuela to the city of Cumaná. By 1607, its population consisted of 15 residents among which were five or six encomenderos and 100 Indians which made up the labor force in charge of the cultivation of corn and tobacco, as well as all the chores on the cattle farms.⁶⁴

The settlement of Trinidad was a motive of special interest for the Crown and according to his capitulación Vides had committed himself to establish an urban settlement of some 150 houses. This settlement was designed to act as a bridgehead (cabeza de puente) in the discovery and settlement of Guayana. The Royal Order of 1594⁶⁵ ratified the jurisdictional rights of the government of Nueva Andalucía over Trinidad although, nevertheless, they were disputed by Berrío, one of the captains of Jimenez de Quesada, who had founded, with others, Santa Fe de Bogotá. According to Berrío, Trinidad was included in the royal gifts granted to Jimenez de Quesada for the establishment of Santa Fe de Bogotá.

The expedition left the city of Cumaná for Trinidad, where, in 1596, was established San Felipe de Montes on the bank of the Río Caroní, in the same place where formerly had been established the deserted cities of Circuncisión (in 1570) and of San José de Oruña (in 1592).⁶⁶ To San Felipe de Montes was ceded a vast jurisdiction which extended from Puerto Viejo de Paría (or the Villa Vieja de San Miguel), 100 leagues of coastline towards the Marañon (Amazon) and 50 inland.⁶⁷ The new council consisted of nine councillors and had but a brief existence, mainly due to the rivalries that sprang up between the followers of Berrío and Vides. Berrío, perhaps more importantly, was the founder of another city in the province of Nueva

Andalucia, Santo Tomé de Guayana, established in 1574.

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, Cumaná, the most important settlement of the province, the capital settlement and residence of the governor and location of the majority of royal officials, was granted by Cédula Real the title of city (ciudad)⁶⁸ and a full coat of municipal arms.⁶⁹ Even then, the city of Cumaná continued to be threatened by the presence of English pirates and Flemish ships. In the year 1599, the city's law offices reported the sad state in which the townsmen lived, powerless before the threat of 15 ships and some other boats anchored in front of the salt mines of Araya. He indicated that because of the fear and the prevailing threat, some of her townsmen and soldiers were abandoning the city while many of those who remained there were considering following them.⁷⁰

The presence of the foreign ships in the salt mines of Araya affected not only the pearl diving activities but also hindered the commercial relations of the city of Cumaná. Added to this was another factor which hastened the downfall of the city, a series of visitas of the Royal judges with their commissions who demanded high salaries, imposed fines and costs involving large sums of money, which fell heavily upon the urban population which soon reached the point of having insufficient resources to prevent the decay of their thatched-roof houses which were crumbling. Such circumstances resulted in the townsmen's request to move their

homes to another place where they would not be persecuted by the foreigners.

To aggravate the precarious situation, the city of Cumaná was further sorely tried by an epidemic of smallpox, which caused numerous deaths, especially among the Indians and negros who worked for the Spanish residents, who "were left without someone to make their corn griddle cake."⁷¹

Finally, the production from the salt pans of Araya and pearl diving experienced a major decline due to the difficulties which arose because of depravations caused by the interference of privateers and pirates. Although it was said that in the salt fields they could load 1000 ships together every 30 days, nevertheless the entire exploitation was hindered dramatically by the foreign boats. In the same manner, it was reported that pearling was affected to such an extent by the piracy that the canoes could not go out to dive, not even four days per week and on some occasions, not even for a single day. The necessary consequences of those obstacles and limitations was the marked diminution in income to the royal treasury of the city paid by them in quintos of pearls, which in 1600 reached only 5000 ducats. Trying to alleviate the precarious situation in which the townsmen of the city of Cumaná lived and in order to encourage the development of pearling the Crown granted a temporary tax of only one-tenth the total value of extracted pearls instead of the one-fifth as had earlier been the case.⁷²

Another source of wealth that the sources speak of is from gold and silver mines, although it is still not possible to locate the exact place of exploitation. Within the boundaries of the city, in the place known as Arapo, in a quebrada joining the Río Neverí and two leagues above Santa Fe, were discovered placer mines;⁷³ around the Gulf of Cariaco and in the valley of Cotiza (or Cotua) silver mines also were reported.⁷⁴

In addition to all other problems, farming was disregarded for the most part, because the townsfolk were devoted so much to guarding the city. Consequently, they lacked provisions because they were not able to cultivate them and because of the difficulties of obtaining them from outside. All of which meant that the encomenderos of the city, with only eight or ten indios and a maximum of 30, became so poor that they could not even pay for the services of a parish priest.⁷⁵

In spite of all this, the Cumaná townsmen saw that they had to encourage the development of farming (both cattle raising and crop cultivation) in the region, because pearling meant that they were beholden to first the island of Cubagua and later the island of Margarita, places which only permitted them to keep a small number of pearling canoes, and for which they imposed extraordinary contributions and controlled the entire judicial function of the pearl industry. The eagerness to overcome such limitations and

to strengthen their economy led them to promote the expansion of settlements towards lands suitable for agricultural cultivation and adequate for the breeding of cattle. This new purpose resulted in the establishment of San Felipe de Austria, presently Cariaco, made by Captain Gerónimo de Campos, complying with an agreement reached with Suarez de Amaya, governor of the province.⁷⁶ The new centre was established in several different places, its first site, made in 1605, corresponded to the place named Guaravea (or Aguaravea), which, according to Ojer was found in the headwaters of the Río Guere, a tributary of the Río Unare, on the Guanipa plateau, near San Francisco and the place which presently the settlement of Cachipo in the State of Anzoátegui occupies.

Two years later the decrease of white population was becoming noticeable and about the middle of 1608, the first shift of site was made, to the aldeas de Aragua.⁷⁷ In 1614, the attorney of the city of Cumaná, on referring to the "newly established settlement" of San Felipe de Austria, requesting help for her church, mentions the convenience afforded the journey to Caracas or Guayana by the stop-over facilities in Cumaná.⁷⁸

Another expedition was sent out to establish a new town beside the Río Guere called Mataruco. Made up of 40 men and commanded by Captain Marcos de Campo, it fulfilled an order given him by Governor Juan de Haro. This urban

center was soon abandoned by its townsmen since they did not have at their disposal Indians for the construction of their houses or for the provision of their food, and instead the said Indians expelled the settlers by force of arms from the said province and its boundaries.⁷⁹

Likewise from Cumaná, Governor Benito Arias Montano sent Captain Juan Rangel de Serpa to establish the city of Baltasar de los Arias, in the valley of Cumanacoa in 1637. The townsmen of Cumaná had extended the plantations of tobacco and cattle farms up to that valley, which justified the establishment of the new urban center. Its jurisdiction, however, was disputed by Juan de Urpín, who argued that a legal provision of the Audiencia de Santo Domingo had assigned the territory to his possession.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, he only took possession of that valley some six years later, when he named it Santa María de Cumanacoa.⁸¹

Juan de Urpín commanded another expedition which left the province of Venezuela with 105 Spaniards, heading towards the Río Unare. He had as his commission the subjugation of the rebellious Indians who terrorized the Spanish population of the region and who obstructed the commercial relations between the eastern and western provinces, as well as to guarantee the income derived from the transfer of troops from Cartagena for the Araya peninsular garrison. On his journey eastward he established cities and villas in order to subdue the Cumanagoto, Palenque and Carib Indians. In

that endeavor he invested the great fortune which he had accumulated in Spain and with which he tried to establish the province of Nueva Cataluña.

Among the first and transient settlements established by Juan de Urpín was the villa de Santa María de Manapire, located in 1632 on the margins of the open grassland of Macaira, between the Ríos Tuy and Orituco on the banks of the deep Río Manapire which possessed lands adequate for the establishment of cattle ranches.⁸² In his report, Brizuela alludes to the request of Urpín to the cabildo of San Sebastian de los Reyes to return to the place where, in 1632, he had established the villa, to subdue the Indians who, during the summer, had destroyed ranches, killing cattlemen (vaqueros) and stealing horses. The council of the villa were given the task of subduing the rebellious Indians of Orituco and of the Carapa mountains with a group of soldiers.⁸³ Fray Caulín reported that in 1637 he reconstructed the town with eight wooden houses, on the banks of the Guatacare ravine, four leagues from the Río Orituco,⁸⁴ from where he gave orders to one of his captains to reduce the Píritu and Palenque Indians.⁸⁵ After only eight months it was abandoned without inhabitants due to the necessity of utilizing the townsmen in the continuation of the conquest of the territory awarded to Urpín.⁸⁶ According to Rodriguez Leyte, Urpín was able to advance in his undertaking thanks to the fact that he was able to group together several bands

of Indians who had opened roads, made corrals and herded the cattle which the expeditioners took with them.

Another town established by Urpín was the Fort of San Pedro Martír, in 1633, on the banks of the Río Unare. This settlement, which corresponds to the present town of Clarines, was created essentially to protect the salt pans of Unare and the others along the coast.⁸⁷ Unfortunately the salt pans were later ruined by flooding.⁸⁸

After the reconstruction of the town of Santa María de Manapire, in 1637, the second foundation of San Pedro Martír was also carried out at Clarines, where the Spaniards with Indians cleared a small terrace of trees on the margin of the Río Unare.⁸⁹ The interest in reestablishing those towns was due to the fact that they were located on the trail which coming through San Sebastian approached the coast via the camino real close to the Río Unare. On reaching Clarines, there was the paso or asiento which controlled most of the commerce with the south, towards the plains.

In the same year, 1637, Urpín established the Plaza de Armas, on the Cerro Santo, near the Río Neverí, eager to produce "mas soldados con que hacer irresistibles sus entradas, y practicar estas de nuevo con mayor esfuerzo."⁹⁰ Of the 138 men who comprised his militia, 76 were natives of the city of Cumanagotos. The plaza constituted the central focus of the city, which much later would be called Nueva Barcelona, a name with which it was formally established

in 1638, after Urpín, with 105 Spaniards, had gone on to subdue the rebellious Indians and penetrated well inside hostile territory. Two hundred and one new settlers arrived in Nueva Barcelona, of which 109 were townsmen of the city of Cumanagotos.⁹¹ Three months later, in May of 1638, he established Nueva Tarragona, on the site of the former hamlet of Uchire of San Juan de la Laguna. According to Urpín, that new Spanish settlement was again designed to secure the defense of the salt pans of Unare.⁹² Nevertheless, five years after its establishment, it was abandoned by its inhabitants due to the fear which the Tomuzas Indians inspired in them.

Using the same name of Nueva Tarragona, in 1655, Miguel de Urpez, successor to Urpín, established a new city located, according to the map of Don Pedro Brizuela,⁹³ between the cities of San José de Unare and Zaraza, on the margins of the plains, in the present state of Guárico. Its location, 30 leagues from Barcelona and 25 from San Sebastian de los Reyes, had great strategic value. It was founded behind the lines of the rebellious tribes, which were in the center, between Nueva Barcelona and Nueva Tarragona, a circumstance which was considered favorable for the improvements in communication and commercial relations along the Camino Real, between the provinces of Cumaná and Margarita and those of Venezuela and Nueva Granada. In the same way, the ties between the coast and the plain were extended and strengthened

permitting an ample use of canoes, and piraguas de invierno to arrive at Nueva Tarragona via the Río Unare. By the date of its reestablishment, Nueva Tarragona had approximately 30 townsmen, while Barcelona had one hundred. The new establishment of Nueva Tarragona had the same fate as the previous; it was not long before it disappeared.

The territory conquered by Urpín, and that awarded to him by the Crown as the province of Nueva Cataluña, was incorporated in 1557 within the province of Nueva Andalucía. Nueva Barcelona was the new title of the political-administrative unit that depended upon the council of the city of Cumaná.

In the process of Hispanic settlement, San Felipe de Austria (Cariaco) represented at the beginning of the seventeenth century the most southern and advanced center in the hinterland dependent upon the city of Cumaná. Its establishment was both to subdue the rebel Indians of the region, to apportion available Indians in encomiendas, as well as to establish cattle ranches and herding. But, San Felipe de Austria was condemned to a transitory life, the Indians from whom the best land was seized did not permit their dispossessed lands to remain in foreign hands long and the Spaniards were unfortunately unable to ask for help from other towns since they were very isolated: not even from Cumaná which was a mere 40 leagues away.

The native attacks did not only occur in and around the

"frontier" settlements. For example, a council official of the city of San Cristobal de los Cumanagotos reported in 1618 that the Araguas Indians, who belonged to the district of that city, had allied with the Caribs and had reached the place of Guama where, not finding any Spaniards, they murdered (eating them) the Chacopatas Indians who voluntarily worked for the Spaniards in their fields and plots.⁹⁴

The Cédula Real which prohibited the encomenderos of the city using the Indians in the pearling activities caused a considerable reduction in the profits from pearls and stimulated a colonization policy towards the interior, where lands fit for cultivation and cattle raising were sought. In 1614, an official offered testimonies to prove the necessity of employing negros in the work of the sugar cane fields (cañaverales) and sugar mills (azucares), when at the same time he informed the authorities that in the boundaries of the city of Cumaná were maintained from 1800 to 2000 head of cattle, a figure which would be increased because of the great demand existing on the part of the ships which were approaching their port to buy cowhides, Brazilian wood, and tobacco.⁹⁵

The boundaries of the governments of Cumaná and Nueva Barcelona were described by Brizuela, in 1655, in the following manner:

de la voca de Guarapiche biene cortando a los
llanos por las espaldas de Cumanocoa hasta el

Bergantín, y de allí cortando a las cabezades del Neverí y Santa Fée.⁹⁶

During the conquest, in the area comprised within those limits, there were many urban centers established, which soon disappeared in such a rapid manner that it might be argued that the dominant characteristic of the process of Spanish settlement in the region, was that of transitory urban bridgeheads in an otherwise inhospitable and unaffected aboriginal human landscape. The continual abandonment of those towns, these "ciudades errantes," with the loss of numerous lives among Spaniards and Indians (the latter being numerically far more significant), was the result of the frequent incursions and diverse methods of human exploitation. Essentially these were the work of the vecinos of the islands of Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Cubagua, and Margarita who covered the eastern coast from Paría up to the mouth of the Río Unare and including the coasts of the province of Venezuela. These ransacked whichever land they encountered, enslaving their native owners and justifying their actions by arguing that they were consequences of guerras justas. Nevertheless, those excesses were not only committed by individual Spaniards but also by the collective authorities themselves who exploited the Indians for personal benefits, as is clearly demonstrable in the case of Governor Vides and the conquistador Urpín.

In the settlement expansion of Cumaná, the capital city constituted the point of departure of groups of men who, after

crossing sierras, penetrated into the plains, opened roads and made clearings in the brush forest of the mountain slopes to establish ephemeral military outposts. There they located watering places and made cultivation plots to obtain subsistence products from the land. At the same time they constructed corrals to care for and increase the number of livestock. Thus, in eastern Venezuela the city was the base for the penetration, occupation, and exploitation of human and natural resources of the hinterlands which extended from the coast. All of this process was, of course, dependent upon, and in relation to, Indian opposition which formed a real frontal attack on Spanish settlement. In general terms they were held back on the coastal margin. These circumstances meant that both the location of the urban centers as well as the life of the townsmen of the province of Cumaná would depend extremely heavily upon pearling, although they would only be able to exploit those resources in turn under the restrictions which were imposed on them by others. What the urban foundation and military conquest could not achieve the Franciscan Capuchinos demonstrated could be done by other means, and with different objectives.

ENDNOTES

1. Cayetano de Carrocera, Memoria para la Historia de Cumaná y Nueva Andalucía (Caracas, Editorial Artes Gráficas, 1945), p. 136.
2. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, "Carta de la Real Audiencia al Rey," Santo Domingo, dated 11 Nov., 1561.
3. The problem of Cumaná was considered as that of an island that happened to be located in Tierra Firme, and which permitted the development of the town between the beach and the port.
4. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, Carta al Rey sobre la elección y nombramiento de la Justicia y Regimiento de Nueva Córdoba," dated 2 Feb., 1562.
5. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 183, "Carta de J. Ortal al Rey," Nueva Cadiz, dated 6 June, 1532. Ortal intended to settle the coast using the resources of the mines of the Gulf of Cariaco.
6. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, "Carta al Rey sobre la elección y nombramiento de Justicia y Regimiento de Nueva Córdoba," dated 21 Feb., 1562.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, "Carta de la Real Audiencia al Rey," dated 14 May, 1567.
10. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, "Carta de la Real Audiencia al Rey," dated 21 Feb., 1562. The limits established were so vague and so extensive that they reveal little more than geographical ignorance.
11. Lope de las Varillas, "De la conquista y población de Nueva Córdoba, 1569," in Relaciones Geográficas de Venezuela, FHCV (1964), p. 66.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 67, "vinieron el gobernador con sus capitanes a ver la grandeza y abundancia de esta hacienda, y tómake posesión de ella en nombre de la ciudad de Nueva Córdoba." The eastern coast had extremely rich fishing resources.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 68.
18. Ibid., plants cultivated by the Indians themselves.
19. Ibid.
20. The Arawaks of the area south of the Río Orinoco to the bank of the Esequibo, from where they sailed to the islands of Trinidad and Margarita with food and provisions.
21. The description of Lope de las Varillas makes it possible to locate the reference to the Bergantin massif, coinciding with the longitudinal, heavily vegetated valleys, with relatively high peaks on either side.
22. These must have been Indians seeking refuge in the face of the Spanish advance and south of the front formed by the Caribs.
23. Ibid., p. 69.
24. Las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población y Pacificación de Indias, 1573 (Madrid, 1973), punto 47, p. 44.
25. The search for Guayaná's resources was one of the principal reasons for the drive eastwards of settlement in Venezuela. It was necessary to provide a base for expeditions that were to lead south through the Unare depression.
26. Lope de las Varillas, op. cit., p. 79.
27. Ibid., p. 73. This group lived on the banks of the upper Río Unare.
28. Ibid.
29. Henri Pittier, Manual de las plantas usuales de Venezuela (Caracas, 1971), p. 107. He defines the "cotton" of Lopez de Varillas, which was found in such

great abundance in the llanos, as algodón satana (habiscus sulfurus).

30. The rainfall regime here coincides with most of the llanos area, with rainiest months between April and October. The rest of the year there is practically no rain at all.
31. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, "Carta al Rey," firmada por Don Antonio Luis de Cabrera, dated Feb., 1571; AGI, Pa rnato, Vol. 15, "Relación del capitan Luis Honorato Ortiz," Madrid, dated January, 1573.
32. Lope de las Varillas, op. cit., p. 76; Juan Lopez de Velazco, "Corografía de Venezuela y Nueva Andalucia, 1571-1574," in Relaciones Geográficas de Venezuela, Vol. 70, Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1964, pp. 104-105.
33. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, "Certificación de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated 11 Nov., 1570.
34. Lope de la Varillas, op. cit., p. 79.
35. Here the Chacopatas, Cumanogotos and Píritus are being referred to. They lived in the extreme northeast of Nueva Andalucia.
36. The pirates that were the scourge of the Spanish settlers had virtual colonies of negros on the isolated Caribbean islands.
37. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Carta del Gobernador Don Diego Suarez de Amaya al Rey," Cumaná, dated 22 May, 1604. The city paid 300 pesos annually to the Spanish travelling merchants.
38. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, Leg. 1010A, fols. 60-60r, "Expediente de Nuñez de Lobo," Santo Domingo, dated June, 1586.
39. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 183, "Información al Rey dada por el Teniente gobernador de la Villa de Asunción," dated 9 Sept., 1574.
40. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, Leg. 697A, "Proceso de Residencia de Juan de Haro," dated 20 Feb., 1620.
41. Ibid.
42. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, Leg. 1010A, "Capitulación de Nuñez de Lobo," dated 1586.

43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. AGI, Patronato, Leg. 80, "Probanza de los méritos y servicios del Capitán García Gonzalez de Silva," dated 21 March, 1590.
47. The Río Tuy was within the jurisdiction of the Province of Venezuela.
48. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Petición del Procurador de la ciudad Don Gaspar de Caldebilla," dated 10 Jan., 1610.
49. Ibid. For the Caracas owners of cattle ranches this was a vital route to be kept open if they hoped to maintain commercial enterprises functioning. For details of this relationship, see Federico Brito-Figueroa, La Estructura Económica de Venezuela Colonial (Caracas, 1963).
50. The so-called Real was little more than a type of provisional military base from which the Indian population could be controlled and Spanish settlers provided with a potential refuge.
51. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, pregunta 16, fol. 21, "Petición del Procurador de la ciudad Don Gaspar de Caldebilla," dated 10 Jan., 1610.
52. Ibid.
53. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 1010A, "Expediente de Nuñez de Lobo," Asunción, dated March, 1588.
54. Ibid.
55. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, Leg. 1010A, "Expediente de Nuñez de Lobo, Testigo: Domingo Gonzalez Cervantes," dated 23 March, 1588.
56. AGI, Santo Domingo, Vol. 190, pregunta 12, fol. 4r, "Solicitud de los vecinos encomenderos de la ciudad de Cumaná," Cumaná, dated Feb., 1610. The sources frequently provide mutually conflicting locations of individual places, since in that period there was considerable and understandable confusion over the geographical features.

57. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, Leg. 697A, "Testimonio de Melchor de los Reyes, Poblador de la ciudad," dated 1620.
58. Cedulario de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604 (Caracas, 1967), Vol. II, "Capitulación con Francisco de Vides sobre la prosecución del descubrimiento y población de Nueva Andalucía, Madrid," March 23, 1592, p. 175.
59. Ibid., Cédula 448, pp. 119-173.
60. Various figures are given for the founder population; they range from 60 vecinos to 150.
61. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Solicitud de los vecinos encomenderos de la ciudad de Cumaná, Testigo Andrés Peres," dated Feb., 1610.
62. Guatapanare was the name given by the Indians to the Río Neverí.
63. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604 (Caracas, 1967), Vol. II, Cédula No. 534, p. 261.
64. Diego Villanueva y Gibaja, "Relación Geográfica de la gobernación de Venezuela, los corregimientos de la Srita y de Tunja, y la gobernación de los Mussos," in Relaciones Geográficas de Venezuela, FHCV, Vol. 70 (1974), p. 289.
65. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604 (Caracas, 1967), Vol. II, Cédula No. 495, p. 223.
66. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, Leg. 1011A, "Carta al Rey de San José de Oruña," dated 15 Oct., 1594.
67. Ibid.
68. Cedulario de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604, (Caracas, 1967), "Título de ciudad al pueblo de Cumaná en Nueva Andalucía," Cédula 440, San Lorenzo, July 3, 1592, p. 157.
69. Ibid., Cédula No. 441, p. 158.
70. AGI, Santo Domingo, Vol. 190, "Probanza de los vecinos encomenderos de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated Feb., 1614.
71. Ibid.
72. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604 (Caracas, 1967), Vol. III, Cédula No., 432, pp. 148-49.

73. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Carta de Roque Colmenares al Rey," Cumaná, dated 18 April, 1596.
74. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604, (Caracas, 1967), Vol. II, Cédula No. 449, p. 228.
By which means the King seeks information regarding the silver mines in a valley called "Cotua", near the town of Cumaná.
75. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Probanza de los encomenderos de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated Feb., 1614.
76. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Carta de Don Pedro Coronel al Rey," dated 1607.
77. Francisco Tauste, "Relación de los Capuchinos de Aragon en la provincia de Cumaná," Nov. 20, 1678, in Froilan de Rionegro, Relaciones de las Misiones de los Padres Capuchinos en las Antiguas Provincias Españolas, hoy República de Venezuela, 1650-1817 (Sevilla, 1918), Vol. I, pp. 99 et seq.
78. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Solicitud de los vecinos encomenderos de la ciudad de Cumaná, Testigo Diego Vargas," dated Feb., 1610.
79. Fray Antonio Caulín, Historia de la Nueva Andalucía, FHCV, Vol. 81 (1966), p. 288.
80. Ibid. Preliminary study by Pablo Ojer, p. CXII.
81. Antonio Caulín reports that it was founded in 1717.
82. BM, Add. Mss. 13-974, No. 24, "Sobre el estado y pacificación y población de los indios Cumanagotos," Nueva Barcelona, 12 June, 1638, Juan de Orpín, fols. 113-122.
83. Ibid.
84. Fray Antonio Caulín, op. cit., Vol. 81, Part I, p. 330.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., Vol. I, Ojer, p. CXXXIII.
87. BM, Add. Mss. 13-974, No. 24, "Sobre el estado y pacificación y población de los indios cumanaotos," Nueva Barcelona, 12 June, 1638, Juan de Orpín, fols. 113-122.

88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "El capitán Gaspar de Magallanes, Procurador General de la ciudad al Gobernador de la Provincia," dated 13 Feb., 1618.
94. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Petición de la ciudad de Cumaná al gobernador," 9 March, 1609.
95. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Probanza de los señores encomenderos de la ciudad de Cumaná, presentación de Testigos," dated 5 Feb., 1614.
96. Ibid.

CHAPTER XI

THE IMPACT OF SPANISH CONTROL ON THE RURAL
LANDSCAPE OF CUMANA, 1500-1650Development of the encomienda

The subjection of the aboriginal population to the control of the encomienda system was the basis of the Spanish colonization venture in the Cumaná region. An Indian labor force guaranteed both the immediate survival and the long-term development of the Spanish enterprise.

In the eastern region of what would later become known as Venezuela, the characteristic rebelliousness of the Indians became a negative factor in organizing a system of encomiendas. The mistreatment and abuse suffered by the Indians during the Spanish conquests also proved to be an adverse factor in the population process. These victimized Indians often retaliated by attacking and destroying the Spanish urban centers.

The coastal city of Nueva Córdoba founded by Montesinos, a solitary settlement in the vast oriental periphery, was originally settled by 30 Spaniards and their Guaiquerí Indian servants.¹ The Guaiqueríes had the distinction of being the only tribe to voluntarily subject itself to servitude, thus making the establishment of encomiendas apparently unnecessary. Nueva Córdoba's Royal Charter²

confirmed the existence of pacified Indians in the region 20 leagues along the coast and six or seven leagues inland. In 1569, Governor Serpa was given a gift of a land grant by the Crown. The tract of land, which was for the personal use of Serpa and his heirs, included an area of 20 square leagues in the location of his choice. The local resident natives of this region became the first veritable Indian labor force. During Cumaná's reconstruction, the Indians performed a number of services, among them translation, loading, and cattle-herding. These services were in demand particularly during expeditions undertaken to conquer neighboring Indians under the urban center's political-administrative authority. By establishing ties with the Indian populations, the Spaniards were guaranteed supplies of agricultural products, salt, and fish necessary for their survival. A team of four tribal chiefs and 300 Indians, under Spanish supervision, transported supplies of salt and fish through the Araya peninsula.³

The Indian population in the area between the Gulf of Cariaco and the Río Neverí (a region 36 leagues long and 14 leagues inland) became a prime labor force and was distributed for service among Cumaná's "vecinos bienméritos" (worthy citizens). The city of Santiago de los Caballeros was founded by Governor Serpa on the northwest boundary of of this region.

The distribution of Indians among the Spaniards was

stipulated in the Crown's instructions to Governor Serpa for the "discovery and population" of Nueva Andalucía.⁴ The actual distribution would be in accordance with each recipient's social standing as well as need. A Royal Decree affirmed that the distribution of the rural population among the Spaniards would supply a ready source of both servitude and labor.⁵ The vecinos were given preference not only in the distribution of the first encomiendas, but also in that of the remaining ones as well. During Cumaná's establishment, encomiendas were awarded to those Spaniards who had participated in the city's defense.⁶ These particular encomiendas were chosen from a group of Indian families set aside specifically for this purpose. Indian labor was used primarily in the pearl trade and in agriculture. Those citizens who were granted encomiendas were obligated to clothe, feed, and instruct the Indians in their care. Because of the relatively short period of peace and prosperity in Cumaná, the benefits of Indian labor were limited and short-lived.

The availability of Indian labor was closely related to economic conditions in the urban population. The city of Cumaná, geographically isolated, depended heavily on the Indians for its sustenance. Proof of this can be seen in the response of many inhabitants upon the distribution of Cumaná's Indians to other neighboring areas. When this occurred, many Cumaneses were compelled to abandon the city

because they could find "no means of sustenance."⁷ The situation was somewhat alleviated by Francisco de Vides' capitulación of 1592, when an additional 300 Indians were distributed equally among the island of Trinidad, Píritu, and a new settlement just begun. The Crown understood the need for the distribution of Indians among the settlers; it served as a reward to the founders and as incentive for further population and development. Indian labor guaranteed provisionment for the urban population and the expeditionary troops that set out to discover and conquer the vast interior of the province.

Owners of encomiendas were obligated to live on these sites. However, the lucrative pearl trade on neighboring Margarita soon caused a mass violation of this agreement by the citizens of Cumaná who hoped to find their fortunes in the new area. Migration had reached such widespread proportions by the last quarter of the sixteenth century that several Royal Decrees were issued to limit it and thereby "conserve the population." Owners were advised to return promptly to Cumaná, lest their encomiendas be confiscated.⁸ Shortly afterward, a smallpox epidemic spread throughout the community affecting mostly the Indian and slave population. The reduction among the laboring population resulted in diminished agricultural production and pearling, thus accentuating the city's abandoned appearance.

In full support of the greedy encomenderos, Governor Suarez Coronel referred to a Royal Decree issued on March 2, 1609, and petitioned the King to permit Indian laborers to voluntarily work in the pearl trade, thereby guaranteeing their sustenance.⁹

Cumaná's encomenderos warned that the prohibition of Indian labor in the pearl industry would signify the downfall of the entire city. They argued that they had no other means of livelihood¹⁰ and that the Indians, if not allowed to work, would return to their primitive, and barbaric state.¹¹ Indian labor was coveted by the residents of Cumaná; not only were the natives expert swimmers, divers, and fishermen, they also had a natural ability for finding the best oyster beds. The Indians worked at the pearl industry for a period of two, three or four "moons" (the Indian way of time-telling). The Indians were forced to dive six fathoms underwater¹² in search of pearls in the oyster beds off Macanao, Puerto Moreno, and Puerto Tirano and around the islands of Coche, Cubagua, and Araya, all of which came under the jurisdiction of Cumaná.¹³

Towards the start of the seventeenth century, Cumaná's encomenderos expressed their preference for Indian pearl divers over slaves.¹⁴ The latter, they claimed, often hid the pearls they found and later denied the existence of any oyster beds.¹⁵

By 1611, there were 11 encomenderos in Cumaná who

employed their Indian labor force in pearl diving. The latter used the pearls to purchase machetes, knives, agricultural tools, and clothing.¹⁶

The Indians lived miserably, often "going naked and without any trade or profit." A small corn crop provided them with sustenance only three months of the year; the remaining time they lived off small rations of fish and herbs supplied by their masters.¹⁷

From the accounts of the Bishop of Puerto Rico's 1642 visita to Cumaná¹⁸ one can see that the citizens diligently tried to expand their limited economy by developing the agricultural trade along the valleys of Cumanacoa and eastern Cariaco and the banks of the Río Manzanares. Two poor and small encomiendas were located in the Guirintar valley. The neighboring valley of Lunatar (Tunantar) was the site of the area's "richest and most powerful" encomienda whose indios de macana cultivated large crops of corn and cocoa.¹⁹ The encomienda of Juan de Brito was also known as a "canoe and fishing-net" encomienda²⁰ as his Indians were also widely used as pearl divers and fishermen. The third valley visited by the Bishop was the Guaracayar (Guaracayal) inhabited by the Indians belonging to Cumana's Sargeant-major and his heirs. These Indians were often sent to cultivate the agricultural zones of the Cumanacoa valley and were also used as pearl-divers. The Mariquitas valley was the site of still another

encomienda, whose Indians cultivated sugar and worked in the trapiche mill,²¹ and worked the pearl boats. With the Indians of these four valleys was organized the first doctrina. Although the encomiendas lacked the facilities for consecration of sacraments, the area was at least assigned a priest.

The second doctrina was formed by the encomienda Indians inhabiting the eastern gulf valleys. The first of these valleys, the Parabacoa (Tarabacoa), lay along the river of the same name, between Mariguitar and San Antonio del Golfo.²² The Indians of this encomienda worked at sugar-refining and pearl-diving; in addition, they cultivated cocoa and other agricultural products along the Cumanacoa valley.

The valleys of Puerto Viejo and Chachamaure, along the San Antonio gulf, and Carumuntar (Curumuntar) were the sites of three moderately large encomiendas. The first two specialized in sugar-refining; the latter cultivated cocoa. Lodgings (ermitas) were constructed in each of the three.²³

The city's Notary Public owned an encomienda in the Cariaco valley which, at the time of Bishop's visit, was involved in great controversy. Several of their Indians were expert divers and, as such, were sent as "indios de canoas" to dive for pearls. The last encomienda, El Palmar, was located to the extreme east of the Gulf of

Cariaco. The Indians of El Palmar worked at jobs similar to those of neighboring encomiendas. The ermita which was built here served as a center of domination and domestication of the Indian laborers by means of religion. This guaranteed a growth in their protector's material well-being and enabled them to pay taxes to the Royal Treasury.

The region called "Partido de Chara e Ipure,"²⁴ a distance of one-half a league from Cumaná, extended three leagues upstream and on either side of the Río Manzanares. Along the banks were several "conucos"²⁵ cultivated by the Indians. In Chara, the town closest to the city of Cumaná, in addition to eight or nine encomiendas inhabited by Indians, there lived some negros²⁶ who supported themselves by cultivating corn.²⁷ Indian pearl-divers inhabited three of Chara's encomiendas. In Ipure,²⁸ which lay further inland, there were seven or eight encomiendas which specialized in agricultural production, particularly cocoa, which grew well in this fertile region.²⁹ Several Spaniards and negros lived in the area as well. The religious indoctrination which the Indians received was highly irregular, since the area's residents could not afford to pay the priest's stipend. The Spaniards could, however, afford to maintain mayordomos (overseers), who treated the Indians inhumanly, and received one-third to one-fourth of their harvests.³⁰ As a result, many Indians escaped from their encomiendas.

Some of Cumaná's residents owned encomiendas along the boundaries of San Baltasar de los Arias (Cumanacoa), a city of some seven or eight encomenderos, located eight leagues south of the coastal valleys. Their Indians would have to travel the distance between the two cities by foot during seed-time and harvest, in order to perform their assigned tasks. One year later, in 1643, the King was informed³¹ that Cumaná's natives had been unable to form their own villages as a result of their state of servitude. The Indians were considered "personal property"³² of their owners. The King was further informed of the Indians' activities--their arduous work in the cultivation of corn and cocoa and in the refining of sugar cane.³³ The citizens petitioned the King for the removal of a fixed tribute (demoras), thus allowing them to divide the work week into three days for the Indians and three days for the encomendero. This was seen as being the only way of uniting the Indians in villages.³⁴

By 1638, the Indian laborers assigned to 30 Cumaná citizens were classified as "pagans and rebels" who had not yet been completely dominated. The citizens of Cumaná were accused of monopolizing the Indians captured by expeditions from neighboring regions for their own use.³⁵

The encomienda Indians of Cumaná lived in aldecillas (hamlets) formed by groups of seven or eight bohíos (huts). Each aldecilla was separated from the next by a distance of

"una carrera de caballo."³⁶ Although some encomiendas were small, others were numerous and very profitable for their owners. The more prosperous encomenderos sent tens of Indians to work in the pearl trade, in the cultivation of cocoa, tobacco, sugar cane, corn, and vegetables, and in the refining of sugar.

Cumaná's encomiendas were located mostly along the eastern and western river banks,³⁷ and along the hydrographic sector from the Cariaco gulf to the mouth of the Río Unare. By the mid-seventeenth century, Spanish colonization in the south had extended to the Cumanacoa valley, where they had established seven or eight encomiendas within the boundaries of San Baltasar de los Arias.

The Cumanacoa valley, along the Río Manzanares, proved to be a fertile region which lent itself to diverse agricultural production. Its vast pastoral regions were ideal for cattle-grazing, thus providing the necessary supplies of meat for Cumaná and the Araya fortress before their destruction at the hands of the Carib Indians.³⁸ The founding of Cumanacoa, originally thought to be a stabilizing and pacifying force, had little effect on neighboring tribes. The Chaima and Carib tribes posed a permanent threat, and the Spanish residents in the valley were forced to keep a constant guard. The constant threat of attack became so great that men never left their houses unarmed and women were escorted even when performing such household tasks as

washing clothes or going to fetch water.³⁹ Other Spanish populations experienced the same restrictions. The capital city was no longer subject only to attacks by pirates; the Carib Indians from nearby Dominica, San Vincente, and the minor Antilles ambushed the coastal areas while native Indians attacked from the interior. The city of San Felipe de Austria (Cariaco) suffered evacuation as a result of consecutive Indian attacks. The stabilization of this urban center came with its relocation in the Cariaco valley, five leagues from the coast and thereby nearer to the other Spanish settlements.⁴⁰

The constant Indian attacks also had an effect on the Indian encomendados who were at the service of the urban population. Their bellicose brethren saw service to the Spaniards as a form of treason and punished it by death.

Attempts to expand Cumaná's boundaries to the interior regions confronted a barrier of fire. The natives saw this as the only effective means of protecting their people and their land. The organization and distribution of the Indian population was thus delayed in the northern region; essentially the settlement process was one "de fachada."⁴¹ When the stability of the Spanish population and domination of the Indians became almost impossible, the settlers resorted to a new means: missions.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, Indian encomendados were incorporated into missions. Newly-

converted Indians were made Royal subjects and were forced to pay taxes to the Crown.

By 1659, when the population had been distributed into missions, the city of Cumaná had 150 residents, of which 30 were encomenderos.⁴² Twenty years later, this figure had grown to 38.⁴³

A Royal Decree promulgated in 1676⁴⁴ imposed a series of modifications upon Cumaná's encomiendas. Until then, they had been passed along from descendant to descendant, for 100 years. Under the new decree, encomenderos had to pay a half-real daily for food on each of the three days of service. Indian women were not permitted to do any type of work. In this way, the Indians were able to enjoy free time for at least three days a week. Indian boys were to be taught reading and writing until the age of 14, while Indian girls under 12 received some type of training.⁴⁵

The encomenderos who tried to manage their encomiendas as their ancestors had a century earlier claimed that giving the Indians such liberty would only allow them the opportunity to escape. They further argued that their encomiendas were small, in which only ten or 12 Indians cultivated corn and manioc, and that the quantities harvested were so small that they barely met their needs.⁴⁶ The urban absentee laborlords insisted that they were overburdened by the costs incurred by the priest's salary and maintenance of such church supplies as candles and wine. Additional expenses

came about each time an Indian became ill or died.⁴⁷

By this time, there were five priests indoctrinating the local encomienda Indians. According to the encomenderos, for the past 20 years their Indians had spent four months a year defending the coast and its ports. To remove the Indians from their villages in the valleys, they argued, would mean leaving their women and children unprotected and vulnerable to attack by rebellious Indian tribes.

The landscape inhabited by the Indians was made up of a series of coastal valleys and the fertile banks of the Río Manzanares. The valleys extended from east to west and were separated from one another by stretches of upland two to four leagues in width. There were no job opportunities for Indian laborers throughout the area. The only job possibilities were in Cariaco; however, its distance of seven leagues from the city made it difficult for the Indian worker to return on time to his encomendero. Also, there already were several encomiendas within the Cariaco valley.

The encomenderos tried to maintain their personal and material privileges. They did so by retaliating against rebellious Indians who threatened them and by hiring sentinels to keep vigil along the coast.

The encomenderos requested that the Indian tax system remain the same--payable in agricultural goods, which the tax collector would later sell to provide the necessary

amount for the Royal Treasury. They insisted that such an arrangement would not be a burden on the Indians, because they would consider it "beneficial to their souls."⁴⁸

Encomiendas were thought to be essential to Cumana's existence. The urban population feared that the innovations called for under the Royal Decree would cause the province's decline. By eliminating the structure of the encomiendas "there would be no encomenderos, and the Indians would retreat back to the forests where they could no longer be subdued even by weapons."⁴⁹

A Royal Decree of 1686 eliminated personal service under encomiendas and imposed annual taxes of 12 pesos on each Indian. Nine pesos belonged to the encomendero; the remaining three pesos went towards the stipends paid to the priest, magistrate (corregidor), the purchase of wine, oil, and for public charity.⁵⁰

An earlier decree had reduced the tax on Indians to six pesos for those living within a 10-league radius of the city, and four pesos for those outside the city's boundaries. The tax, payable either in cash or agricultural products, supported the bureaucracy of the capital. By 1680, 31 encomiendas which were visited by Governor Acosta had a population of 500 Indians, 372 encomienda Indians who belonged to 18 encomiendas and 13 encomiendas with 128 Indians who were taxable Royal subjects. Some encomiendas had been reduced to only one Indian; some even claimed they

had none.

In 1688, a Royal order forbade the further assignment of Indians to encomiendas for 20 years.⁵¹

Obviously, both free and forced Indian labor provided the urban residents with sustenance, social prestige, and economic and political power. It also proved to be the first fundamental economic activity of the modest urban settlement.

The Spaniards succeeded in integrating the aboriginal population that had been established by the Aragonese Capuchins in the city's hinterlands.⁵² By 1691 (as can be seen from Table 20) the province had 42 encomiendas altogether with a population of 704 Indians distributed within nine missionary settlements.

The development of ranchería settlements

The centers of pearl trade became basic sites of economic activity in Cumaná during its first decades. Rancherías were amorphous, mobile, and temporary settlements, formed by a nucleus of huts and cottages built near a pearl-diving camp. During the dry season, they were occupied by Spaniards, Indians, and slaves.

The sea floor around Cubagua, Coche, and Araya's peninsular coasts were favorable for the harvesting of oysters, particularly mother-of-pearl, the type of shell which produced the most exquisite pearls.⁵³ Oyster beds, at a depth of between six and 12 fathoms, came under the

Table 20. Population of the Encomiendas of
the Province of Cumana, 1691

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>ENCOMIENDAS</u>	<u>INDIOS UTILES</u>
San Juan Bautista	3	137
San Francisco	6	89
Arenas	3	67
Aricagua	4	69
Mariguitar	6	65
San Joseph y Santa Ana	6	43
Nuestra Senora de las Nieves	8	41
Tierra Firme	3	98
San Antonio	3	95
TOTAL	42	704

Source: AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, dated 1690.

jurisdiction of Cumaná and were thus accessible to pearl divers.

Environmental conditions. such as dry spells, scarce precipitation, and lack of water currents were not conducive to population growth, and survival in the rancherías. Dependence for provisions rapidly shifted permanently on to Tierra Firme.

The governors of Cumaná and Margarita oversaw the pearl industry until 1591, when under a Royal ordinance a separate office was established to administer the industry's activities.⁵⁴ The ordinance proposed the establishment of stricter controls on the pearl trade, thus guaranteeing

maximum income from taxation and curbing frauds against the Royal Treasury. The ordinance called for the annual election of a mayor and four deputies to serve as administrators of the pearl industry's profits. The mayor, who was chosen from among the area's "canoe-owners," was elected alternately from Cumaná and Margarita. He was obligated to live in the largest ranchería throughout his tenure.⁵⁵ The deputies distributed their duties equally with the neighboring island of Margarita.

The Attorney General was yet another official in the pearl industry bureaucracy. He, too, was chosen from among "canoe-owners," and his function was to insure maximum profit. The mayor and deputies appointed two additional officials, a Treasurer and a Superintendent, whose role was to collect fines and pronounce sentences determined by the mayor.

Those designated as "canoe-owners" had a great deal of influence in the government of rancherías. To be a member of this class, it was necessary to own some type of sea vessel and a minimum of ten slaves.⁵⁶ Each "canoe-owner" had his own superintendent and canoe pilot, both of whom bore arms to prevent slave uprisings and to defend their canoes in the event of a pirate attack.

Royal officials kept a careful register of all the canoe-owners, fishermen, residents, and foreigners involved in the pearl trade. These officials visited the rancherías

every two months to update their figures.

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, of Cumaná's 38 residents, only two were canoe-owners, a fact which disturbed the Margaritenos who were at that time the dominant group of pearlers and who had the most permanent ranchería.⁵⁷ Each ranchería had its own priest or chaplain, whose role was to indoctrinate Indians and administer the sacraments. His salary was determined by the mayor and his deputies.

The Indians originally used pearls to make necklaces, belts, and "cumares" for their women. Under the Spaniards the pearls were used as currency, and Indian labor was used to extract them. The Indians were paid for their labor in the form of small tools and clothing for their women and children. When Indian labor became scarce, it was replaced by slave labor. To compensate for the loss of slaves incurred in the course of pearl-diving, further shiploads of negros were imported.

The settlements were frequented by barterers, merchants, or traders until the passing of the ordinances, when the sale of wine, fruit, clothing, or other merchandise was prohibited by canoe-owners, estate managers, canoe crews, and all others. This measure deterred the sale of pearls without paying quintos and the bartering with the black slaves.

The concentrations of fishermen did not escape the attacks by corsairs and pirates who destroyed the canoes and took considerable loot. The need to protect this

lucrative activity brought about the consultation of the King with the authorities of the city of Cumaná. After this meeting the pearl-carrying canoes were escorted daily by a ship or oared boat with 50 musketeers and 60 or 70 slaves rowing. Although the canoes were required to stay together and all canoists had to be armed with a sword and harquebus, the failure to meet this requirement facilitated attacks on the pearl beds.

A royal decree⁵⁸ ordered that on the higher spots on the coast and where the settlements were located, there be sentinels that would keep lookout and vigil constantly and warn of the presence of an enemy. The sentinels who followed with the settlements when they moved were paid by the Royal Treasury and the canoe-owners.

The storeships (urcas) that were installed in the salt pits of Araya made the provision of food and implements to the canoes difficult. These canoes were frequently badly supplied, but were impeded from nearing the supply ports themselves.

The Royal Decree of 1578 ordered that the indigenous people of the province of Cumaná be permitted to fish freely with no impediment, and that those who fished by day be well-paid with no assaults or harassment.⁵⁹ The Crown itself repealed that decree with the passage of another which prohibited the use of a free or endentured indigenous labor force for plant fishing.⁶⁰

The diminution of the indigenous labor force was violent because of the exhaustion and illness which had their origin in the strenuous activity of a poorly fed group, the epidemics introduced by the Europeans which devastated the native population, and the frequent deaths due to shark attacks. It is important to note that the principal causes of death among the native population were the same as those of the slave labor force.

It was prohibited to open oysters at the diving sites in order to avoid shark attacks.⁶¹ The diminution of the indigenous labor force in the pearl industry and then the prohibition of its use created the need to incorporate a growing number of negros into pearl fishing. The city of Cumaná frequently solicited the introduction of black slaves.⁶² The residents of the city testified that there were neither blacks nor Indians available, due to the numbers who died in the epidemic that devastated the population at the end of the sixteenth century. They added that only the canoe-owners benefitted from the negros that had been introduced.⁶³

The canoe-owners and some citizens assured the Crown that the absence of Indians in the settlements indicated not only the lack of indoctrination, contact, and communication with the Spaniards, who provided the support of the natives, but also the diminution of the quinto tax and the cause of the depression which filled the city since

they had no resources except the pearl industry.⁶⁴

The Attorney of the city reported in 1612 that all activity had ceased at those settlements two years earlier because of the lack of indentured Indians and free Guaiqueries Indians. A part of the last group arrived in the city of Cumaná after great poverty and starvation on the island of Margarita had forced the majority of its natives to abandon it.⁶⁵ Up to the date mentioned, the city of Cumaná had 13 citizens registered who organized pearl-diving with those Indians.

Four citizens, canoe-owners in the city, testified that the indigenous labor force could not be replaced by slaves, because the latter hid what they found instead of discovering oyster beds, gathering them, and turning over the pearls.⁶⁶ A letter from the city of Cumaná to the King stated that the great calamities suffered by the city due to the lack of pearls were caused because "the first settlers established the richness of the sea with the treasure they found in the pearls, but they did not attend to the development of fruits or cacao trees which could serve as a relief."⁶⁷ By that time, pelts and cattle served to maintain the urban population.

Although the pearl industry left scarcely any marks in that solitary physical environment, the activity that justified its existence brought about enslavement, loss of native population, and the loss of the lives of many

negros. Additionally, that activity was responsible for the introduction of a numerous group of negros. The negro element played an important role, not only in the successive economic activities of the region, but also in the process of developing a mestizo population.

Although the pearl fishing activity was an important factor in the diminution of the slave and indigenous populations, it contributed to guarantee the existence of the urban population during the first decades of the colonial period.

Villages of Guaiquerías Indians

The delta of the Río Manzanares was the geographic core of interaction between the Guaiquerías Indians, the Spaniards, and the mestizos, with the mountain Indians trying to obtain the farm products cultivated by these groups. That exchange, brought about by the able Guaiquerías, permitted the survival of the urban population. They were extraordinary swimmers, divers, and fishermen, not only of pearls, but of all types of fish and seafood.⁶⁸

The Guaiquerías Indians played a fundamental role, not only in the sustenance of the Spanish population, but also in the permanent defense of the city. The placement of the Guaiquerías population as the shield of the city and on both sides of the Manzanares made them faithful and permanent lookouts and defenders against the continuous attacks suffered by this urban nucleus.

With the congregation of the Indian people into so many huts, some of the points of the Instruction, credited to Diego Fernandez de Serpa, were accomplished. It was ordered in this document that the indigenous populations live in villages near to the Spaniards. The explicit purpose of the formation of those villages was the conversion of the natives to Christianity, but in reality it responded to the need to guarantee the survival of the incipient urban nucleus, which depended exclusively on the native population for labor, particularly if one considers that the city was surrounded by warrior tribes for more than a century.

The Guaiqueríes were Indians belonging to the Crown through their loyalty to the Spaniards, which caused the King to free them from paying tribute, including that to priests. Those Guaiquerí villages were under the spiritual care of a priest and the authority of the Governor.

The two Guaiquerí villages in Cumaná were Nuestra Señora de Altagracia del Puerto de la Cruz and Nuestra Señora del Socorro del Puerto de Reyes.⁶⁹ The village of Altagracia (Figure) was situated on the main highway from the city to the port of Salado, and Socorro was located on the sea highway which went to the port of Reyes de Ostia.

By 1614 the Guaiqueríes were primarily involved in pearl

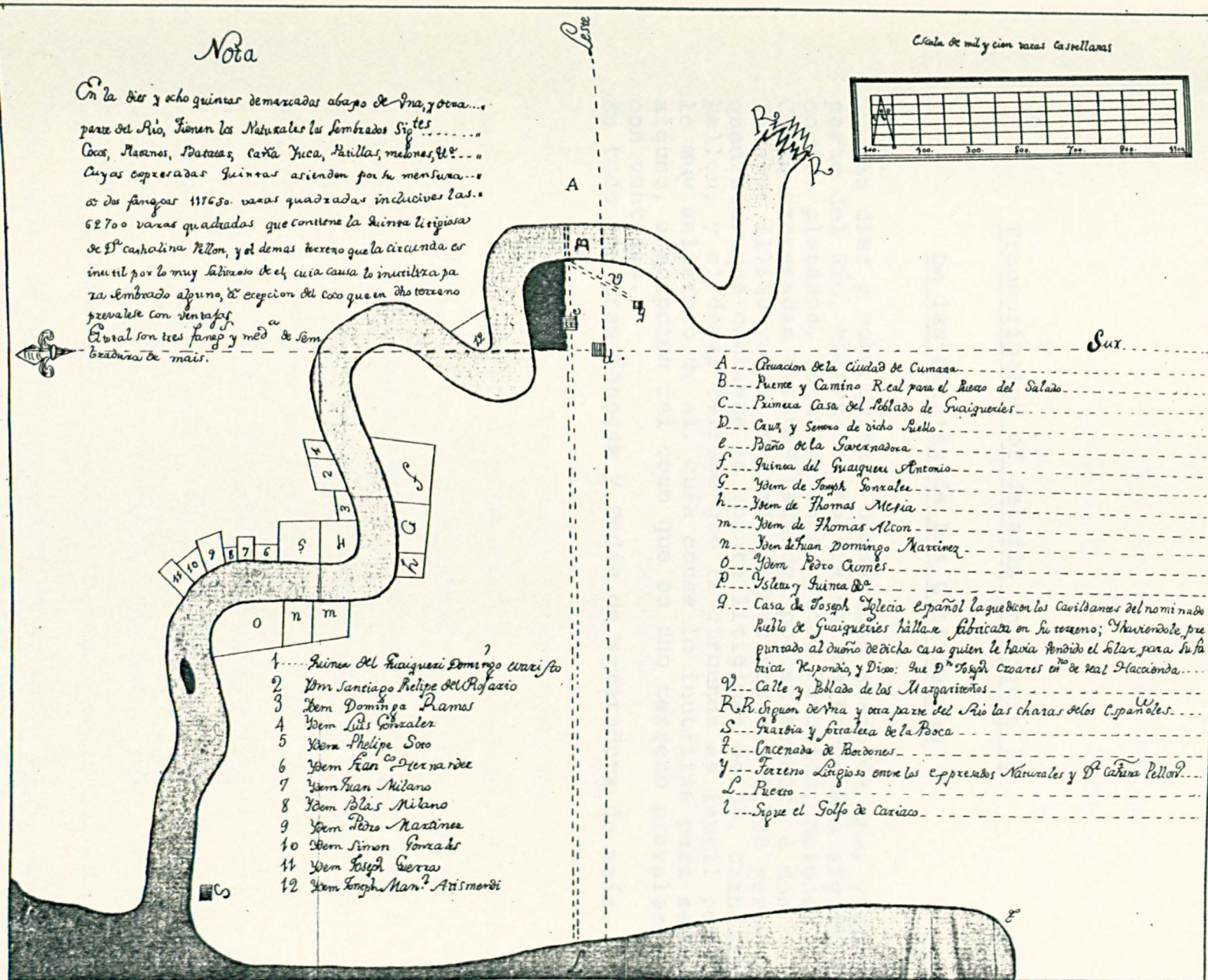


Figure 20. Land holdings of Guaiguieries Indians, Altigracia, 1783-84
 Source: Documentos para la Historia colonial de Venezuela (Caracas, 1946).

Transcription of details in Figure 20

De las Quintas de Los Guaiqueríes

Nota.

En diez y ocho quintas demarcadas abajo de una, y otra parte del Río, tienen los naturales los sembrados siguientes cocos, platanos, batatas, caña, yuca, Patollos, melones. Cuyas expresadas quintas asienden por su mensura a dos fanegas 117650 varas quadradas inducives las 62700 varas quadradas que contiene la quinta litigiosa de D^a. Cathalina Pellon, y el demas terreno que la circunda es inutil por lo muy salitroso de el, cuia causa lo inutiliza para sembrado alguno, a ecepcion del coco que en dho terreno prevalese con ventajas. En todo son tres fanegas y media de sembradura de maíz.

fishing, an activity which supported and maintained the city of Cumaná.⁷⁰

At the end of the seventeenth century a wooden and picket wall four leagues long was projected along the Manzanares,⁷¹ which would isolate the Guaiquerías of the district from any possibility of defense and help from Cumaná.

In the last decade of the seventeenth century, those groupings of settlements were inhabited by 51 Guaiquerías who were under the administration of a clergyman and to whom the Royal Treasury paid 100 pesos annually. The Guaiquerías constituted the principal labor force in the pearl industry, a job which contributed to decimate their population markedly. Both villages additionally supplied fish, seafood, and farm crops to the urban population because they alternated between farmwork and pearl fishing.⁷²

The Indians living in Altagracia and El Socorro were natives of the coast near Cumaná and the island of Margarita, from where the greater part emigrated due to the hunger and poverty of the island.

The Guaiquerí Indians were given permission to concentrate their work in labor on the land, at sea--even on ships going to and from Spain, New Spain, the islands of Barlovento and La Guaira, in the province of Caracas. There were many Indians employed on such ships who stayed in foreign lands and died there; many more did not return from diving for pearls.⁷³

The Hispanic authorities were interested in conserving the Guaiquerí population because of their loyalty, their docility, and above all because they constituted a steady labor force upon which the city of Cumaná depended. Beginning in the seventeenth century, there were various royal decrees promulgated to protect those natives.

The prohibition of the use of Guaiquerías in the pearl industry was contemplated at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The municipal ordinances of 1695⁷⁴ established the prohibition on taking Guaiquerías outside of the city's jurisdiction on boats, and those who took them out within the limits had to obtain a license from the government. It was additionally ruled that all indigenous people living in places other than those two Guaiquerí villages be re-settled in them. Absolute prohibition was also specified on the use of Guaiquerías living in the valleys and ranches on the Gulf of Cariaco, and on the coast, the Misiones, and the Spanish cities.⁷⁵

In 1720, the viceroy Vinalonga reported that the Guaiquerí villages of Nuestra Señora de las Gracias and Ostia were composed of 50 natives and were located half a league from the city of Cumaná.⁷⁶ The village of Nuestra Señora del Socorro (El Socorro, El Socorro de los Cerritos, Ostia, or Los Cerritos) was located in the proximity of the present-day neighborhood of Caiguire, and its last name was given to it by the local church, which was known

popularly as "Los Cerritos."

Both villages had a modest church which maintained the poor settlement of the loyal Guaiquerías. From here the secular clergyman offered the sacraments to which the natives resigned themselves to tolerate their sad destiny.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Governor Ramirez Arellano designated lands especially for the Indians of Altagracia for their agricultural plots (Figure 20). Within a generation title to these same lands was being disputed by citizens of the town of Cumaná.

The Aragonese Capuchin Missions

By the date at which the majority of the missions were founded, the province was under the political jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada, it was ecclesiastically part of the Anejos Ultramarinos under the Bishopric of Puerto Rico, and juridically part of the Real Audiencia of Santo Domingo.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Spanish population of the province of Cumaná had managed to establish itself in four urban centers, of which Cumaná, the provincial capital and administrative seat of the region, had a population of 300 citizens, with a total population of less than 2000. The cities of Barcelona, Cumanacoa, and San Felipe had not more than 50 citizens each and the total Spanish population of the three cities was not half that of the capital's population.

The urban population which had established itself in the province by the middle of the seventeenth century was not able to force the Indian rebels living in the interior of the territory into submission because each punishment and violent act against the natives was returned with greater aggression and resistance. This situation made the success of the attempts at Spanish penetration and settlement impossible in the hinterland of those modest cities.

The Spanish authorities understood the need to abandon the use of war-like and repressive tactics for the conquest of the territory. The adoption of means of spiritual persuasion, such as evangelization and indoctrination with priests were instead advised.

The economic situation of the Iberian peninsula was propitious for the use of the religious orders in the Indies because the orders were more than adequately stocked with willing souls.⁷⁷ The acceptance of the Capuchin offer was made readily; the Crown was well aware of the sad state of the colonization of the Cumaná region and apprehensive of the imminent risk of the entire coast being possessed by foreigners, or repossessed by Indians.

The area of the present study includes only the territory conceded to the Aragonese Capuchins which included the present-day states of Monagas and Sucre. In 1724 the authorities of the missions and the governor of Cumaná

established the exact limits of the territory in which the religious order were able to exercise their respective missionary functions.

The initial presence of the Capuchins in the province was circumstantial, but a Royal Decree of 1567 authorized the Capuchin province of Aragon to send a group of its brethren to the province of Cumaná.⁷⁸ Governor Brizuela determined that it should be the Indians of the area encompassed by the valley Cumanacoa who would be included in the first project of the Capuchins' evangelical work. The friars settled very near the city of Cumanacoa, from where they began reconnaissance of the neighboring territory, and specifically of the land inhabited by the Chaimas Indians. This tribe had a dispersed pattern of settlement; they lived in hamlets of two or three houses separated from the next nearest neighbors by two or three leagues.⁷⁹

In 1569 the first Indian mission village (reducción) was established, 13 leagues from the city of Cumanacoa and 25 from the capital. This contained Chaimas Indians and was located in "a large and pleasant meadow" at the foot of the hill of Guacharo. In that temperate valley the Capuchins established their first experiment in nucleated Indian population; this first settlement was called Santa Maria de los Angeles (or Guacharo). It was the seat of the mission administration, from where expansion took place.

Four years after the first settlement was established,

four other villages had been established. These were: Nuestra Señora de Pilos, San Salvador (or El Salvador), San Juan Bautista, and San Francisco.

The reduction of Carib Indians, Nuestra Señora de Pilar, was established three or four days travel away in the valley of Chiporipor to the south (1662). The settlement of the llanos was one of the goals of that village because it was abundant in wild livestock, which would supply the missionaries with cheese, meat, and hides in abundance. The settlement, which at one point had more than 600 Indians, lasted only a short time,⁸⁰ a common characteristic of all the population centers established by the Capuchins. The reservation of San Juan, peopled by Coaca and Carib Indians, was also located on the way south to the plains, one league from the Río Areo.

San Salvador de Acarigua, formed with Coaca Indians, was established near the city of San Baltasar de los Ríos in the valley of Camanacoa, between the upland ridges of San Bonifacio and Turimiquire. Its location near the settlement of the greedy encomenderos signalled its sad demise.⁸¹ San Francisco, the last of the four recently founded villages, was situated on the banks of the Río Guarapiche. It was reported that those three reservations held more than 600 Indians each, and Santa Maria de los Angeles came to have more than 1600 baptised Indians.⁸²

The friars penetrated the eastern mountains in all

directions over the narrow tracks and Indian trails which followed the natural alignment of the ridges or steep valleys with lush tropical vegetation, or they followed the routes bordered by thorny shrubs and swamps which were so abundant in the coastal zone of Cumaná.

The spatial system of settlements populated by natives was complemented by the settlements of Spanish populations, the latter designed to protect and defend the three missions in the plainlands. In 1671, the town of San Carlos was founded on the banks of the Río Guarapiche, in the territory of the rebellious Caribs. These Indians spared no energy to bring an end to Spanish settlement in the area.

In 1659 the governor of the province of Cumaná began to take measures to avoid the abuse of the urban inhabitants by the Indian populations.⁸³ The residents of the valley of Cariaco, whether Spanish, mestizos, mulatos, or negros, were prohibited from leaving the valley, or sending people out to the area of the Guacharo, with fitting punishments for any violations of this order. In spite of this, the violent acts of the untrustworthy citizens were one of the adverse factors in the settlements and it was they who brought about the failure of the missions which were founded between 1675 and 1678 in the jurisdiction of San Felipe de Austria.⁸⁴

The penetration of the Capuchins into the forested territory in the east of the province toward the Gulf of

Paría in search of a route to the sea provided the basis for the congregation of the natives who lived in that zone. The first village established in that sector was Nuestra Señora de Belén, in 1674, situated in the unhealthy and humid valley of Mapuey.⁸⁵ To the north of this reservation Nuestra Señora de Pilar was founded in the valley of Chuparipar and last the settlement of San José de Chuparipar was established in 1678 on the banks of the Río Areo.⁸⁶

One of the salient characteristics of the mission settlements was their marked instability, which frequently meant the temporary or permanent abandonment of the settlements. The missionaries considered the founding of Spanish settlements nearby necessary to maintain the faith and submission of the natives inhabiting the missions. With that in mind, they made various petitions to the governor of the province and brought their case before the Royal authorities, but the Capuchins' wishes did not bring about any significant support from the regional authorities.⁸⁷

The tactic employed by the religious order in the native populations was to first "reduce" the chief (cacique) or capitanejos, because this usually meant the almost total submission of the population that was under his authority. In 1681, the voluntary submission of the chief, Guarín, brought about the foundation of Nuestra Señora de la Altura de Payacuar (Santa Cruz), situated on the Caripe road and more than two leagues from the mission of Santa María de los

Angeles (Guacharo).⁸⁸

According to contemporary documentation the Capuchins were able to maintain eight missionary settlements in the province of Cumaná up to 1681. The data shows that four of the native settlements had undergone considerable change. San Juan Bautista, after its destruction by the French, was rebuilt on the banks of the Río Cariniquar; Santa Cruz was moved twice and was finally rebuilt in the valley of Casanay, and San Salvador de Aricagua was repopulated with Guaca Indians near the mission of San Lorenzo. In that same year San Miguel was founded in the area known as "Los Dos Rios," along the Río Areicuar, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the city of San Baltazar de los Arias.

From 1689 to the end of the seventeenth century other mission villages were founded, stimulated by the impulse imparted by new missionaries who arrived in the province. Fernando Ley was founded that year in the valley of Cutuntar, two leagues from San Francisco⁸⁹ and four from the city of Cumaná. The village was moved in 1698 to the valley of the Río San Juan, two leagues from its original location and an equal distance from the city of San Baltasar de los Arias.

In the same year that the above villages were founded, a reduction of Chaima Indians was established. It was called Jesús del Monte de Catuaro, located to the south on

the road to Caripe (Areocuar) on the slope of the hill of the same name.

Some mission settlements, such as Santa Ísabel de Paría, were established two years later in the valley of Tepanepán and toward the coast of the gulf of Paría. The place where this mission was founded was considered unhealthy and unprotected, and consequently as lending easy access to foreigners and enemy Indians. The settlement was abandoned for these reasons.⁹⁰ An encomienda settlement was also founded in 1691, called San Antonio de Guaipanacuar and located in the valley of the same name. During the visit that Governor Acosta made to the villages in 1691, the village was composed of encomiendas of three important residents and others made "by appointment."⁹¹ The settlement of San Antonio was founded by a layman, a resident of the island of Margarita, which for lack of priests was turned over to the Capuchin missionaries. San Francisco de Chacaraguar was located in the valley of Chacaraguar, at a short distance from its previous site. During the visit by Governor Acosta it was located four leagues from the city of Cumaná in the valley of Cumanacoita,⁹² where the Indians of six encomiendas lived, taxed at six pesos annual tribute.⁹³

Four mission villages disappeared in the last decade of the seventeenth century due to fires, which were frequent in the settlements, comprised as they were of straw-roofed

huts. They were also subject to attack by both native and foreign enemies.⁹⁴

Even though by 1711 more than 5000 Indians had been reduced into villages (Table 21), the seventeenth century

Table 21. Population of the Mission settlements in the Province of Cumana, 1711

<u>MISSIONS</u>	<u>INDIANS</u>
Santa María	700
Nuestra Sra. Pilar	400
San Juan Bautista	300
San Francisco	550
San José	1200
Santa Cruz	-
Jesus del Monte	417
San Fernando	350
San Antonio	500
San Pedro y San Pablo	446
San Lorenzo	550
Concepción	-
TOTAL	5413

Source: AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, dated 1690.

ended without the fulfilment of the wishes of the mission order and authorities to found Spanish settlements near the rural settlements of natives who had submitted themselves to the evangelization of the priests. They felt that the founding of an urban nucleus on the peninsula of

Paríá and another to the south in the plains region would play important roles in the population process. The urban inhabitants would participate in penetrations into the mountains for the purpose of taking more natives to increase the population of the settled population or to found new missions. Additionally it was still considered very important to dominate the fierce Carib Indians to achieve effective control of the territory, a threat equal to that of the non-Spanish settlements on the south bank of the Rio Orinoco. Finally, an alliance with the Carib Indians was considered necessary for the defense of the coast against the attacks of foreigners who endangered not only the peripheral urban nuclei, but also the rural settlements in the hinterland.

The indigenous population constituted a reserve of tribute labor for the urban citizens,⁹⁵ who abused this fact to such an extent that a permanent rivalry developed between the encomienda holders and the missionaries. Although the Ordinances of Governor Acosta dealt with the payment for the various jobs in which natives were used, and although he ordered better pay for more work, the urban settlers began to encroach into the Indian settlements, alleging that the possession of encomiendas allowed them the right to obtain their legal benefits.

In the record of the visita and of the register of Indians held in the province of Cumaná done by Governor

Acosta in 1691, there were nine encomiendas in the area of the missions.⁹⁶

Morphologically, the missionary villages were modelled on the rectangular plan of the urban model. From a plaza, where the main streets began, lots and dwelling units were laid out in rows. The church and the priests' residence were the most important structures in these native villages, since it was there that the principal functions of these settlements were accomplished. The church also acted to attract the disperse rural population. A plan of the village of Maracapana in 1703 demonstrates the plan of such missions (Figure 21).

Education was carried out in each mission village in the church under the charge of the missionaries. The children of the village attended the school to learn their native language and the catechism. The church, like the houses, was constructed of reed, and covered with thatch, of reed, grass or leaves. Life in the mission settlements was modest; the great preoccupation of the Capuchins was the conversion of the natives. The Indians maintained their small plots (conucos) and on them they grew the staple items of subsistence. The encomienda Indians who also lived in the missions had to walk great distances to the places where the encomenderos had their ranches and work sites. This fact made life still more difficult for this rural group, since they had only a very short time

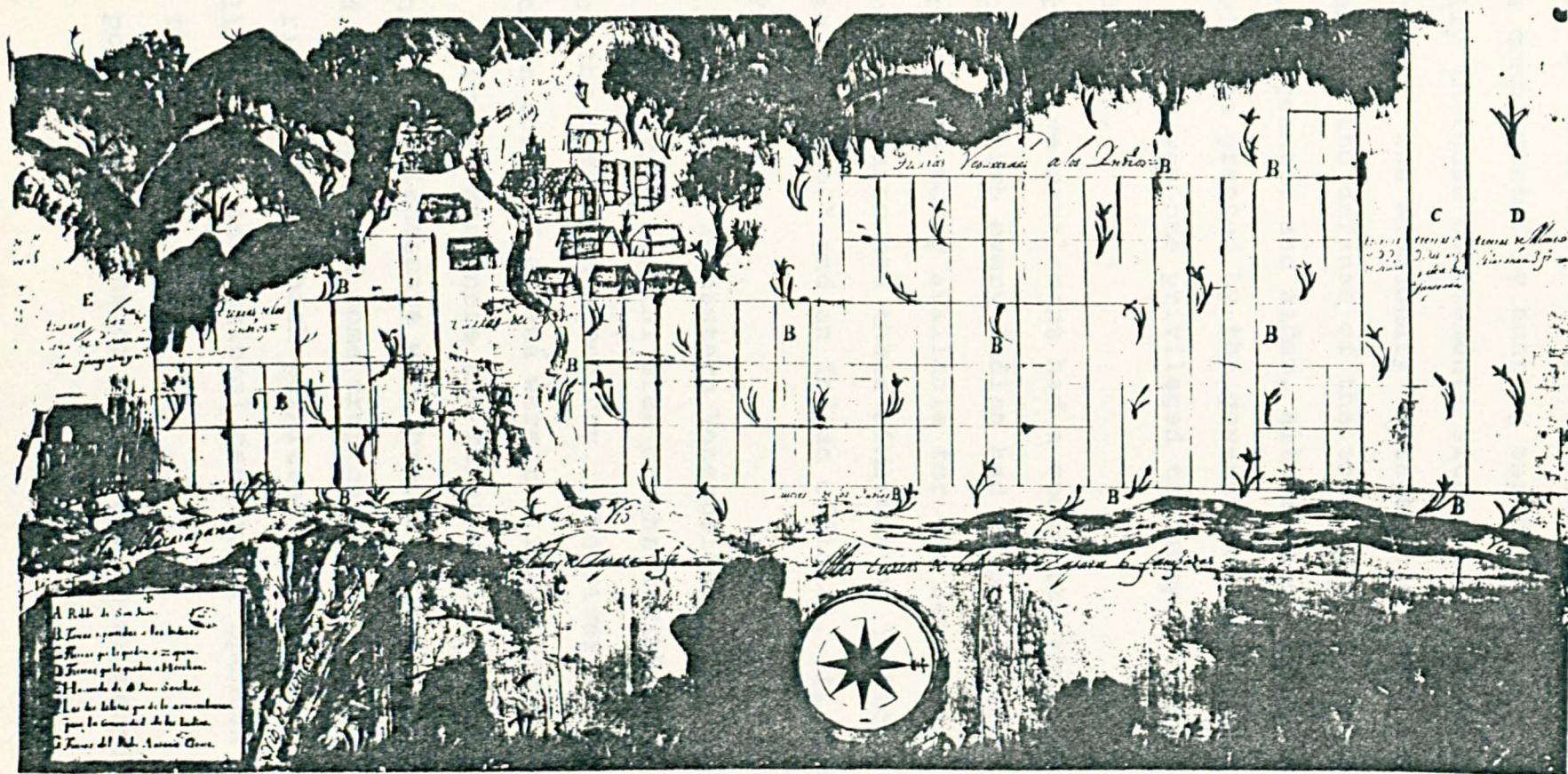


Figure 21. Plan of the mission village of San Juan de Maracapaná, 1703

Source: AGI, Planos y Mapas de Venezuela, 69.

to cultivate their own farm plots for their food. Their diet was complemented by hunting and fishing resources, especially in those settlements situated on a river bank or the coast. The missionary villages had their own militia companies for the defense of the zone, with captains, ensigns, sergeants, and aides, all of them with insignias and privileges granted by the governor of the province. A happy Indian was one privileged to carry a baton and wear a uniform.

Every native settlement had a community chest (caja de comunidad) to which every Indian had to pay 2 pesos annually, in order to make money available for the settlement's expenses. They also had their ministers of justice, two "alcaldes de campo," and an Indian official, all chosen annually.⁹⁷

Spanish control in eastern Venezuelan territory was limited to a narrow coastal area on the Caribbean by the middle of the seventeenth century. The river valleys of the northern coast of Cumaná were the first sites of Spanish activity, and where the first modifications of the aboriginal rural landscape were brought about. The Spaniards expanded the growing of some tropical foodstuffs to the fertile river plains, which permitted the sustenance of the small, modest, and skeletal centers of Spanish population on Tierra Firme.

The population expansion by the Capuchins permitted

the Spaniards to gradually incorporate a vast territory under their control, a territory which was only slightly known through numerous but frustrating expeditions over several years. The missionaries continued pushing south along the river plains from the coast into the plateau valley systems. They opened paths in the tangled and lush vegetation in search of the land inhabited by the rebellious Chaimas and Carib Indians. The fertile and mild valley of Cumanacoa was the first foothold of the priests. From there they expanded their conversion process to the edge of the llanos, home of the fierce, war-like Carib, to the east across a forested zone up to the humid lands dense with scrub woodland around the Gulf of Paría, and to the north through the xerophillous vegetation of the peninsula of Paria. The dominance of the natives and the gathering of them into missionary villages not only guaranteed the stability of the urban centers, but also reciprocally the need to establish protective Spanish settlements near the missions. This guaranteed the permanence of the native settlements and the possession and definitive dominance by the Spanish Crown in the territory. The control of the native population assured the commerce that was carried on over the dangerous and isolated roads that joined the eastern region with the western provinces of Venezuela. The Spaniards obtained livestock, hides, and animal feed from the plains to the north and the neighboring region to the west.

ENDNOTES

1. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, "Carta de la Justicia y Regimiento del pueblo de Nueva Córdoba," dated 20 Feb., 1562.
2. Ibid.
3. Lope de las Varillas, "De la conquista y población de Nueva Córdoba, 1569," in Relaciones Geográficas de Venezuela, FHCV, (Caracas, 1964), Vol. 70, p. 66.
4. Cedularios de la Monarquía Española de Margarita, Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1586-1604 (Caracas, 1967), Vol. II, Cédula No. 311, p. 11.
5. Ibid., Cédula No. 312, clausula 17, p. 21.
6. Gaceta Municipal, No. 1114, Distrito Sucre, Estado Sucre, dated 31 Oct., 1928.
7. Lope de las Varillas, op. cit., p. 80.
8. Cedularios de la Monarquía Española de Margarita, Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1685-1604, op. cit., Vol. II, Cedula No. 462 of 20 June, 1592, p. 193.
9. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Carta de Diego Suarez de Coronel al Rey," dated 25 June, 1610.
10. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Probanza de los encomendados de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated 5 Feb., 1614.
11. Ibid.
12. Juan Salas, "Relación de la isla de Margarita y sus términos," probably written between 1560 and 1570, in Relaciones Geográficas de Venezuela, FHCV (Caracas, 1964), Vol. 70, p. 51.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. 54. This shows that the pearls were being raised from a depth of under seven meters, and were somewhat small.

15. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 1614, "Probanza de los encomenderos de la ciudad de Cumana," dated 5 Feb., 1614.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. AGI, Santo Domingo, Ramo 2, Leg. 2, "Informe del Obispo de Puerto Rico," dated 1642.
19. The Bishop notes that "in the first valley of the Spanish that each encomendero had fewer than six Indians." In some places such as the Valley of Cumanacoa cacao was being cultivated.
20. Chinchorro is a type of fishing net made by the Indians. Later it became a venezolanismo for a hammock made of palm reed.
21. Later the valley became a site of fishermen with the same name. The encomienda population was probably to be found in the short valley formed by the Río Mariquitar which discharges into the Gulf of Cariaco.
22. It has been able to positively identify the Valley of Guirintas. On the censal map of Santa Inés it appears as a farm. Similarly the Lunuanta Valley is now the Río Tununtar, and the Suaracayar is now the Río Soledad.
23. According to the Bishop's report the valley corresponds to the Río Puerto La Vieja.
24. Actually the charas kept their identity as agricultural units, located on the banks of the lower course of the Río Manzanares.
25. Conuco is an Indian word for the swidden plot. Its Middle American equivalent is the roza.
26. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Visita a las encomiendas de Cumaná por el Señor Obispo de Puerto Rico," dated 1642.
27. According to the documents the most common crop of the charas was maize.
28. The present Ipures extend from the town of San Juan.
29. AGI, Santo Domingo, Ramo 2, Leg. 191, "Visita a las encomiendas de Cumaná por el Señor Obispo de Puerto Rico," dated 1642.

30. Ibid.
31. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Don Diego Sandoval informa al Rey sobre la necesidad de remedios que tiene la ciudad de Cumaná, su provincia y la granjería de las perlas," dated 24 July, 1643.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. BM, Add. Mss. 13974, Document No. 24, "Estado de la Pacificación de los indios Cumanagotos dado por Juan Urpín," dated 1638.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. AGI, Santo Domingo, Ramo 2, Leg. 191, "Visita a las encomiendas de Cumaná, por el Señor Obispo de Puerto Rico," dated 1642.
38. Ibid.
39. P. Buenaventura de Carrocera, Los primeros historiadores de las misiones Capuchinas en Venezuela, FHCV, (Caracas, 1967), Vol. 69, p. 210.
40. AGI, Santo Domingo, Ramo 2, Leg. 187, "Informe del Gobernador Francisco Palacio Rada," dated 16 Aug., 1674. This confirms that by that date the settlement of San Felipe de Austria occupied a site in the Cariaco Valley, 70 leagues from the town of Cumaná. From San Felipe to Cumaná by sea was a day and a half by boat.
41. Pablo Vila, Geografía de Venezuela (Ediciones Ministerio de Educación, 1962), Vol. 2, p. 352.
42. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 625, "Representación de la ciudad de Cumaná al Rey," signed by López de Brito, dated 11 Nov., 1659.
43. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Informe del Gobernador Francisco Palacio Rada," dated 16 Aug., 1674. By that date the governor informed that the city had 34 vecinos; four years later the city had 300 inhabitants, of which only 38 were encomenderos.

44. AGI, Santo Domingo, Ramo 4, Leg. 191, "Expediente de los encomenderos de Cumaná en razón del cumplimundo de una Cédula Real sobre las encomiendas," dated 1680, (Cédula Real de San Lorenzo, 28 Sept., 1676).
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 588, "El Rey envia al gobernador de Cumaná las Cédulas Reales que tratan sobre Tasa y tributo de los indios," dated 1689, (Real Cédula del 26 Aug., 1686.)
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid. Real Cédula del 30 April, 1688.
52. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Visita y Matricúlas de los indios que de esta provincia se hallan encomendados," dated 9 March, 1961.
53. Salas, op. cit., p. 54.
54. Cedularios de la Monarquía Española de Margarita, Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1586-1604, op. cit., Vol. II, Cedula no. 532 de San Lorenzo, dated 31 July, 1597, p. 258. The cédula stipulated that the granjería should be governed by four deputies and one councillor; annually elected two deputies were to be from Margarita and the others from Cumaná. The councillor had to alternate each year.
55. Ibid.
56. Sources consulted reveal that the Cumaná citizens participated in the pearling more as owners of slaves and Indians rather than as boat owners. Each twelve negros had an overseer who was himself black and a canoe pilot who was Spanish and the majordomo.
57. Cedularios de la Monarquía Española de Margarita, Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1586-1604, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 258.

58. Ibid., Real Cédula No. 486, dated 13 Nov., 1595, p. 224.
59. Ibid., Real Cédula No. 373, dated 2 Dec., 1578, p. 91.
60. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "La ciudad de Cumaná sobre que se haga merced de ciertas cosas contenidas en una relación," Cumaná, dated 1602.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Solicitud de los vecinos de la ciudad," dated 2 June, 1610.
66. Ibid.
67. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "El Rey remite al Consejo de Indias una carta de la ciudad de Cumaná en que representa el estado de sus naturales," dated 20 June, 1691.
68. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Petición y testimonio de la ciudad de Cumaná," Cumaná, dated 1613.
69. This Indian settlement received various names during the colonial period. At the end of the period it was commonly called "Los Cerritos."
70. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Probanza de los vecinos encomenderos de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated 5 June, 1614.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 642, "Ordenanzas de Ramirez Arellano de 1700 y aprobadas por el Rey en 1702."
75. Ibid.
76. BFB, Caracas Manuscripts, No. 2817, "Descripción de la Provincia de Cumaná de el Virrey Don Jorge Villalonga," dated 20 Nov., 1720.
77. See Antonio Ballesteros Baralta, Síntesis de historia de España (Barcelona, 1936), p. 220. For the role of the mission in general see H. Bolton, "The Mission as a

Frontier Institution in Spanish America," American Historical Review, 1917: 231-246.

78. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 641, "Cédula Real del Pardo," dated 1657. This legajo is full of detailed information on the activities of the Capuchins.
79. Padre José Corabantos, "Informe sobre las misiones de Cumaná y Caracas al Consejo de Indias," 1660, in Buenaventura de Carrocera, Los primeros historiadores Capuchinos de Venezuela, FHCV (Caracas, 1964), Vol. 69, p. 81.
80. Fray Buenaventura de Carrocera, "Misiones de los Capuchinos en Cumaná," FHCV (Caracas, 1968), Vol. 88, pp. 77 and 188.
81. Padre Francisco Tauste, "Misión de los religiosos Capuchinos de la Provincia de Aragon en la Provincia de Cumaná," dated 20 Nov., 1678, in Buenaventura Carrocera, Los primeros historiadores Capuchinos de Venezuela, FHCV (Caracas, 1964), Vol. 69, p. 219. Tauste confirms that it was the settlements near those of the Spanish that were used for service.
82. Ibid. Se also Pablo Ojer and Hermann Gonzales, La Fundación de Maturín y la Cartografía del Guarapiche, (Caracas, 1957).
83. Ibid., pp. 175-221.
84. In the jurisdiction of the city which extended over 100 leagues the missions of Pilar, San Juan Bautista and San Francisco were founded.
85. The place was located in or around the Golfo Triste and was exceptionally humid given the low elevation and the coastal breezes.
86. Francisco Tauste, "Relación de los Capuchinos de Aragon en la Provincia de Cumaná," 20 Nov., 1678, in Froilán de Rionegro, Relación de las misiones de los Padres Capuchinos en las antiguas provincias Española, hoy República de Venezuela, 1650-1817 (Sevilla, 1918), Vol. I, pp. 100-101.
87. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 192, "Carta del gobernador Don Juan de Padilla," dated 2 Nov., 1683.

88. Padre Nicolas Olot, "Breve relación del viaje que hicieron a las indias occidentales ocho religiosos de la Seráfica Religión de los Capuchinos de la Provincia de Cataluña," dated 8 March, 1680 in P. Cesáreo Armellada, Por la Venezuela indígena de ayer y de hoy (Caracas, 1960), pp. 79-91. This settlement was located in the center of the province.
89. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 641, "Carta del Padre de San Francisco de Cumanacoita," dated Aug., 1690.
90. This mission was depopulated by its inhabitants who went to the San Francisco Mission.
91. See Eduardo Arcila Farías, La economía colonial de Venezuela, 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1973), Vol. I, pp. 87-93.
92. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Visita y matrícula de los indios de la provincia que se hallan encomendado, los que se han agregado a las misiones," dated 16 July, 1690-1691.
93. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Carta del gobernador Mateo Acosta al Rey," dated 20 July, 1690.
94. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 641, "Memorial presentado al Rey, por el P. Sebastian del Puerto Mahon," dated 1696; AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Memorial del Padre Fray Lorenzo de Zaragoza, Misionario al Señor Gobernador," Cumaná, dated 10 July, 1694.
95. At the end of the seventeenth century a Cédula Real on Indian Taxes and Tributes, after which each Indian should have received from the owner of the hacienda where he worked: (1) for cleaning canals and ditches, 2 reales and food, (2) for sickle-reaping, 2 reales and food, and (3) for grass clearing, 1-1/2 reales and food.
96. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Informe del Gobernador Mateo Acosta al Rey," dated 5 Dec., 1688.
97. For parallel developments in Venezuelan Guayana see D. J. Robinson, "The syndicate system of the Catalan Capuchins in southeast Venezuela", Revista de Historia de América, 47, 1971: 67-78.

CHAPTER XII

THE ECONOMIC BASE OF CUMANA

The succession of expeditions initiated by Ojeda, Guerra, Niño and others, who had explored the irregular coastal topography of Tierra Firme and had made first contact with the inhabitants, were directed toward the land of the Paría where Christopher Columbus had discovered the existence of the wealth to be had due to the presence of pearls.

The first expeditions proved the existence of abundant pearl oysters in shallow ocean beds lying close to the shore where the rich salt mines of Hararia (Araya) were also discovered. They also verified the existence of the coveted gold ornaments on the almost naked bodies of the aboriginal population and inquired as to precedence of these objects. At the same time, these travellers visited the coasts of the land where they not only initiated a long-lasting bartering network (truque) of simple and inexpensive elements of European culture (knives, scissors, pins, axes, etc.) in exchange for pearls and gold artifacts, but also initiated a dramatic process of social and demographic change among the native populations in order to appropriate this coveted wealth.

The inhabitants of this land called Zuania (or Curiana) were the first natives on the continent to fall victim to the European system of slavery. They were taken by the Spaniards as naborías¹ and as captives in bloody assaults upon the native population. On the coasts of Tierra Firme the captured Indian was sold into slavery and used either for the exploitation of pearls at Cubagua or on the sugar plantations of Puerto Rico (Boriquén) and La Española, islands of the greater Antilles, while others were taken as far as Europe where they were sold as slaves in the Iberian Peninsula.

During the first decades of the sixteenth century, the first Spanish settlements were founded in the hot, sterile territory where an abundance of pearls had been confirmed. The Spaniards who lived in those under-supplied establishments were all united in their desire to become rich through the exploitation of pearls; an attitude that became the stereotype of all those who came to America from Europe.

The unity of this nucleus of pearl exploiters was maintained until the pearls themselves began to grow scarce, at which time the necessity of finding new sources of wealth forced them to search for other places to which they might emigrate where, through the acquisition of pearls, they could obtain the sought-after prestige and social position they had never known in their homeland.

The founding of the city of Cumaná resulted from the

existence of pearliferous oyster beds in the warm and swift moving waters that wash the most southerly islands of the Caribbean Sea, close by the shores of Cumana.

The desire to possess the territory of Cumana definitively and to conquer the indigenous groups that inhabited the region determined the utilization of various modes of colonization: the Indian mission station of the Franciscanos which lasted but a short time; next, the temporary presence of a fort and an organized garrison. The frustrated attempts to colonize by forceful means were incipient signs of the dismal relations that the whites were to impose upon the natives of this territory.

For the inhabitants of Nueva Cadiz on Cubagua Island (Figure 17), the domination of the coastal area and especially of the zone that embraced the Río Manzanares was an essential objective since control of this region would guarantee a supply of Indian labor, fresh water, and provision for the poorly supplied population living on the arid island of Cubagua and attached to the pearl industry there. One early chronicler noted that "Nueva Cadiz flourished in the security of the fort that Captain Castellan built on the Río Cumaná and the trade in pearls and other riches was large."²

When the exploitation of pearl oysters at Cubagua had decreased somewhat, the island of Margarita (along with a part of the Cubaguan population) inherited the preponderance of the pearl activity of the zone. It also tried to establish

its rights after acquiring political and administrative jurisdiction over the Cumaná coast and even desired to extend its influence to Guayana.

In 1562, Cumana initiated its precarious urban existence with the institutionalization of its communal government and the organization of the Real Hacienda. The Real Hacienda was the representative institution of the province's economic life which centralized and administered the economic activities within a vast region. The Caja Real, where the revenue of the royal exchequer were deposited, was managed by two officials of the Crown. The revenue for the cajas was built on a complex system of taxation placed upon commerce, individuals, on state monopolies and on other sources of a more general nature.

The labor of the pacified Indians converted to Catholicism was available to the founding population of Cumana and was used to maintain their subsistence. The natives provided for the service of the city and were designated from an area of approximately 20 leagues of coast and from six to seven leagues of inland territory.³ Besides this, the urban nucleus was also able to count upon supplies for one year in the form of 200 sheep, 20 mares and stallions and many objects of survival plus other sources of food.⁴ At the same time, with the discovery of gold mines which they were assured existed four leagues from the city, the inhabitants had another inducement--the acquisition of this

precious metal. From the time of its founding, the most abundant salt mines of that coast were also available to Cumaná, and the exportation of this product to Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo began early. In addition, they could count on a supply of excellent wood and pearls from which they hoped to reap large benefits. It is important to note that the incipient population had at its disposal pearls, salt and fishes; the natural resources that determined the primary economic potential of the region.

The first inhabitants optimistically expected the growth and prosperity of Cumaná to follow from its advantageous location on the banks of the Río Manzanares and through the exploitation of its rich soil, its farmland and water for irrigation suitable for cultivation; there was good land for cattle and especially for the breeding of goats and pigs.⁵ In order to increase the revenues of the Royal Exchequer the inhabitants petitioned the King for the right to register ships that arrived at the city or anchored on its coasts, in order to charge the duty or tax that was placed on merchandise that was unloaded and put on sale. This tax was placed on merchandise proceeding from Spain, and the Canary Islands, and it was also placed on products from the land (productos de la tierra) that were being exported.⁶

Despite the initial optimism that accompanied the founding of this modest urban settlement, the expected

growth was quickly restrained due to Cumaná's isolation and abandonment in that vast region inhabited by the most war-like Indians of Caribbea.

The living space of the city was drastically reduced; the settlers were afraid to leave their homes owing to the frequent presence of rebellious Indians who harassed the population. To the city's south, the Carib tribe, comedores de carne humana,⁷ formed a barrier where they lived some 12 to 15 leagues inland. To the north, another group of Caribs from the islands of Dominica, Martinica (Mateneno), San Vicente and Granada, were frequent visitors to the Cumaná shore. During their savage raids, these Indians not only devastated the coastal area, but they also became an obstacle to relations between the city and the exterior.

A year after its founding, the city of Nueva Córdoba was reduced to a small desolate establishment inhabited by a handful of settlers. Faced with the precarious situation of Cumaná, the Royal Court of Santo Domingo decided to place the government of the city under the direction of a Spanish magistrate (corregidor) while the neighboring province of Venezuela would be in charge of protecting it, instead of accepting the undesirable petition from Margarita Island, which would have turned the city into a bartering center and a place dedicated to the capture and enslavement of the native Indians.⁸

In 1569, when a new Governor arrived at Nueva Córdoba, he

found that those few Spanish settlers, half-breeds and Indians were living in some ten straw-roofed homes in the worst possible living conditions. The contingent of people brought by Governor Serpa to the city was composed of 280 soldiers and settlers, all married, plus their wives and children.⁹ Their arrival necessitated the reconstruction of the settlement. Thus, more than 150 homes covered with straw or cane roofs were built. In order to secure the economic base, the Governor had bought 800 head of cattle from the neighboring island of Margarita which were to be delivered to the plains of Venezuela,¹⁰ along with the horses that some of the soldiers had procured on the island.

Despite his counting on a year's supplies that had been brought from Spain, the new Governor also wanted to develop the hinterland of Nueva Córdoba and initiated immediate contacts with the surrounding natives in order to obtain control of the supply of foodstuffs. Thus, a significant number of soldiers marched eastwards along the coast. Entering the foothills of the mountains they found areas cultivated with corn, manioc, potatoes and ayama,¹¹ the classic mixed root/cereal complex, and at the same time they began trade with the native populations. In exchange for hats, knives and fish hooks they not only received fresh farm products but also ornaments made of gold.

Another group of men marched south with the intention of establishing ties of friendship and trade with the natives

of that zone, known to be very numerous and occupying extremely fertile land. From a high place on the mountains (Bergantín) where they spent the night, the expeditions viewed the typical eastern llanos landscape with its mesas and chaparrals. This was the land of Carib warriors.

Some of the settlers were also sent to the other side of the Gulf of Cariaco where there were known to exist salt deposits and large schools of fish.¹² From around the salt deposits of Araya and nearby places they obtained 2000 arrobas of salted fish and over 4000 fanegas of salt. The work was accomplished under the guard of 12 soldiers and eight Guaiqueries directed by caciques, and 300 Indians, who worked one complete week. The surprising abundance of fish and salt motivated an immediate and definitive incorporation of the region into the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities, and from that time onward, the peninsula of Araya with its salt mines was held within the city's sphere of influence.

The coveted royal rights that were bestowed upon the leader of the expedition and his "noble" companions were included during the capitulación of the city. In order to sustain the urban population, manual labor provided by the natives became absolutely necessary, and for this reason the Indians living between Río Neverí and the Cariaco Gulf were distributed. It was calculated that the area occupied by this group was 36 leagues wide and 14 leagues long.¹³

The settlement process was completed with the distribution of tillable land, land for cattle breeding, and lastly by the setting up of land for the community.

Included in the city's plans to expand and populate was the land of the known but distant Arawak Indians.¹⁴ The expansion of settlements from the city of Cumaná toward the west began with the founding of Nuestra Señora de los Caballeros--an urban nucleus that would serve as a base in the penetration route to the supposed gold fields of Guayana through the depression of Unare. The establishment of this settlement was undoubtedly premature since it was located in the territories of the warlike Chacopatas tribe who lived along the banks of the Río Neverí. The ruin of the incipient settlement, the death of Governor Serpa plus the great majority of the soldiers who had hardly had time to explore the plains was attributed to these Indians and their neighboring tribe, the Cumanagotos.

As part of the process of urban organization the Real Hacienda was established. It was administered by officials of the Crown, who were designated by the King. In the "Instruccion" of 1568 that was given to Serpa the variety of functions this institution was to engage in were clearly expressed. These functions reflected the economic life of the region. At the same time one can appreciate the primordial interest of the Crown in maximizing profits for the Royal exchequer: "tratar y mercadear y aprovechar como mas

convenga al aprovechamiento de nuestra hacienda real . . . Aveis de procurar de vender a los precios más súbdos que pudieres."¹⁵

Among others the treasurer of the Real Hacienda was ordered to collect the duties that were imposed on the agricultural products that were to be exported. There were duties and a five percent tax placed on pearls and precious stones.¹⁶ The tax on pearls represented one-half the gross value of the item, while the other half was paid to the finder or discoverer.¹⁷

Five years after the founding of the city, Cumaná's decline had gone so far that only an estimated population of 30 settlers remained. The fishing canoes, without counting the piraguas that carried out the most important economic activity of the population inhabiting the eastern part of the Caribbean Sea, belonged mostly to island neighbors of Cumaná, and one or two to citizens of the city. The settlement's poverty reached the point that there was neither a priest nor sacristan present to offer religious services. A Royal decree issued in 1578 ordered the said posts to be filled and determined that their salaries would be taken from the tithes. It also stipulated that if the economic situation did not permit this, the salaries should be paid out of the revenues collected by the Real Hacienda on the island of Margarita.¹⁸

For the people of Margarita, the Cumaná territory had

for a long time been a source of Indian labor obtained either through capture or bartering. It was also a source of provisions which were obtained from the Indians in exchange for wine, spears, knives and other utensils.¹⁹ The Indians taken from the mainland were enslaved and used either for the exploitation of pearls or on the ranches of the island people who employed them in cattle raising and in the maritime transport of wood and other merchandise. When ranches were bought or sold, the Indians were included in the negotiation.

In 1578, a Royal decree tried to protect the Indians from the inhuman employment they were put through in the pearl industry. It bestowed upon them the right to free fishing and allowed no impediments to be placed in their way. This implied that, just as the Spanish, they would have to pay the quinto and it conceded them the right to go to the fishing grounds as day workers (jornaleros) where the renters were to pay them a fair wage without causing them any harm or vexation.²⁰

Fifteen years after the city's founding, the settlers of Cumaná took their settlement's lack of growth into consideration and concluded that it was the fault of the Governors. The lack of growth of the city itself and the province was evidenced by the scarcity of Spaniards and the presence of thousands of heathen Indians within that vast territory where nothing was grown, and by the small profit

obtained from fishing--serious charges, especially since the entire province was a steady loss for the Royal Exchequer.²¹ The economic malaise of the settlers had become so accentuated that it was now feared that the city would become abandoned altogether.²²

Finally, the offer of a wealthy resident of Santo Domingo, Nuñez de Lobo, was considered beneficial and it was recommended that he be made Governor, a post he had already petitioned for from the Royal Court at Santo Domingo. Nunez de Lobo's offer was to invest 30,000 ducats into the establishment of new Spanish settlements and to introduce negro slaves plus cattle and other livestock.

The capitulación of Nuñez de Lobo ordered the annexation of the islands of Coche and Cubagua, part of the island territory adjacent to Cumaná, into the jurisdiction of the city. It also included the islands of Tortuga (see Figure 1 18), Trinidad and Granada within the Cumaná government.²³

In 1588 the authorities of Margarita, at Asunción, declared that the city of Cumaná was poverty-stricken and that the population numbered no more than 24 settlers, among whom many were in a state of need. At that time, 300 or 400 head of goats and sheep owned by one of the settlers represented the sum total of Cumaná's wealth. The economic power of the recently founded Spanish town of Cumanagotos, on the banks of the Río Neverí, consisted of 70 head of cattle and a few goats.²⁴

In order to stimulate ranching activity in the province, Governor Nuñez de Lobo bought cattle into the region from Venezuela to the west. This implied a great expenditure in horsemen to protect the herders and the animals.²⁵

Nuñez de Lobo gave a new impulse to the economy by introducing a large quantity of slave labor that was used in the harvesting of pearls and in locating new oyster beds.²⁶ One witness to the fact declared that production had gone up so much that the "ten percent" tax, which had never been more than 300 pesos, rose rapidly to 1000 pesos.²⁷

Despite the economic prosperity that the city was experiencing, the island of Margarita still held out an attraction to the Cumanese settlers. The city officials had been informing the King for some time that some owners of tribute Indians were living on the neighboring island. Thus, urban absenteeism was finally prohibited by royal dispositions which obliged the Cumanese to return to the city under pain of losing all the rights and privileges that living in the territory bestowed upon them.²⁸ To stimulate the development of the pearl industry and to lessen the serious obstacles on other forms of economic activity, it was further decided that within the province of Nueva Andalucía there would be a moratorium placed on the collection of all debts incurred through the acquisition of slaves, canoes, and other apparatus used in the harvesting of pearls. The ten percent tax was reduced to five percent (quinto) on

pearls for a span of six years.²⁹ Settlers, traders and inhabitants of the city would pay two percent of the duty (almojarifazgo) on Spanish merchandise sent to the province³⁰ and the General Supplier of Slaves was commissioned to import 200 more slaves to the West Indies.³¹

In Cumaná, there were now hardly two settlers, canoe-owners, engaged in pearl harvesting taking place off the Islands of Coche, Cubagua and Margarita. Even then, however, the Cumaná canoe-owners complained that the people of Margarita obliged them to make their negro slaves work in the fishing industry on that island, or exacted heavy tributes from them.³²

At the end of the sixteenth century, an onset of "gold fever" was the cause of an intense search for this metal along the banks of the Río Neverí, where its existence had been suspected for more than 20 years.³³ The treasurer of the Real Hacienda testified that another gold mine had been discovered 18 years earlier around a stream whose waters emptied into Río Amana.³⁴ When the settlers were asked about the mines in that region, one of them affirmed the existence of a silver mine in the Cotua Valley, four leagues from the city.³⁵

In 1591, a set of ordinances regulated pearl harvesting, and among other things limited the people's freedom in regard to procuring supplies and exporting their products. From Caracas they received maize, bacon, ham, biscuits,

shoes, meat, cotton material and other articles. In turn the ranches exported salt and salted fish to Santo Domingo.

By the end of the sixteenth century, produce from the sea was the basis of the Cumanese economy. Intensive pearl harvesting, fishing and salt extraction were the inhabitants' basic economic activities. Maritime activities were affected by the increasing presence of corsairs and pirates in the Caribbean Sea, and this same area became a theater for the savage raids of Carib Indians present on the islands of Dominica, San Vicente, and others, and also on the lowlands of the Ríos San Juan or Guarapiche.³⁶ The Cumanagoto Indians were also present on the shores of the Río Unare, roaming through the central littoral where they hindered relations of the city of Cumaná and the established settlements under its jurisdiction with the province of Venezuela.³⁷

It is necessary to point out that the presence of foreign ships in the Cumanese littoral, whose objective it was to trade illegally, permitted the settlers to exchange local products for lower priced and untaxed European goods. However, since the Cumanese coast was also the route of the Tierra Firme fleet, piracy soon became a source of fear for the undefended coastal populations.³⁸ "Guaterol", otherwise known as Walter Raleigh, was known to have landed in the port of Barbudo, situated windward near the mouth of the Río Manzanares. The urban population, with the open coasts of their province and their unprotected ports, were in a

state of constant fear.³⁹ By the same token the salt deposits at Araya proved to be an attraction to Flemish ships that would come to extract salt from that place, instilling fear of attack into the urban inhabitants. After extracting salt, these ships would then attack and sack the canoes and boats of the pearl harvesters. This constituted one reason for the decline of this industry and the factor that impeded the harvesting of the Arayan pearl oysters considered to be richest in America.⁴⁰ Besides this they interfered with all trade and commerce between Spain, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, and the province of Venezuela.⁴¹

To protect the pearl camps two sentinels were posted that would help at these temporary sites and would protect them.⁴²

An official reported that at that time, three leagues from the city, 99 storeships had arrived at the salt deposits of Ancón de las Refriegas or at Araya and that 15 Dutch storeships were loading up with salt and palo de brasil.⁴³ Civil authorities and the settlers were powerless against these well-armed ships.⁴⁴ The settlers, helpless against this threat, had abandoned their work in the valleys of Cariaco Gulf, and had also left their fields and cattle six leagues from the city in the jurisdiction of Cumanacoa.

Confronted with the physical impossibility of defending the city, since with a force of only 37 armed men it would be senseless, the settlers searched desperately for different

ways to evade the threatened destruction of the city and its province. On different occasions the inhabitants of this urban center, composed now of 51 thatch-covered homes, petitioned the Crown for authorization to move the settlement to a more secure place where they would not be subject to attacks and raids. Absenteeism, a characteristic of the urban population, made it all the more difficult to procure assistance for the settlers against the surprise raids of the foreigners. Pearl harvesting and agricultural activities kept other settlers away from the city also.

Among the different ways of protecting the city it was suggested: to wall it in;⁴⁵ to close, poison or flood the salt deposits at Araya, thus eliminating the cause of the Flemish storeships' presence on those shores. The King, at this point, ordered the spending of 1000 ducats annually for the expenses incurred in defending the city and the ports of the province.⁴⁶ The city at its own expense maintained a sentinel at the top of a hill from where a large sector of the sea could be observed.⁴⁷ The Royal Treasury had become so diminished by now (owing to insignificant revenue collected from pearl harvesting) that the King consulted with the Royal Court at Santo Domingo over the possibility of replacing the Governor and the other officials of the King at Cumaná with a magistrate or mayor. The King in his consultation declared that the profits obtained by the Royal Treasury had been so reduced that they were not

sufficient to meet the salaries of a governor, as well as civil and religious officials.⁴⁸

Pearl harvesting had declined owing to a scarcity of native and negro slaves. The settlers themselves complained of the lack of domestic help owing to a smallpox plague that had decimated the native and slave population. According to a petition which they drew up, the rights of importing slaves only favored canoe owners. In order to stimulate pearl harvesting once again and satisfy the Cumaná petition, the transport of 150 black slaves was authorized at a fixed price with a stipulated term of eight months in which to pay.⁴⁹

Another cause that hurt pearl production was the violation of the ordinance of the pearl settlements which afflicted the settlers in the city. The owners of canoes at Margarita had not only achieved more prosperity than those at Cumaná but they also represented the great majority in the group of pearl harvesters, all of which determined a certain amount of control for them in regard to the development of the industry. The ordinances established that pearl harvesting would take place at one pearl bed at a time and that the mayor of a pearl settlement would remain with the majority of that settlement. Despite the fact that the Cumaná settlers had previously established settlements on the islands of Coche and Cubagua, within the jurisdictional limits of the city and located at a half league

from the oyster beds they were now obliged to establish other settlements on the neighboring island of Margarita situated at a greater distance from the Cumaná oyster beds (two leagues). The establishment of the settlement on Margarita permitted these islanders to comfortably ride home each night on horseback. Unfortunately the Cumaná pearlers had such small numbers of slaves that they were not able to obtain economies of scale with the use of larger canoes.⁵⁰

The drastic decrease of the native pearl diving population motivated a Royal Provision prohibiting the use of Indians (either encomienda or Guaiqueríes) in the pearl industry. The Provision naturally caused an outcry from the settlers who petitioned aid from the authorities, claiming that the disposition would cause a decrease in people and the eventual total desertion of the city: "In this city there is no other source of profit except those gotten from[the] said pearl harvesting."⁵¹

Pearling was carried out in extenuating form when the oysters were "in season" every three, four or six years in which time the oysters were said "to mature."⁵² In 1610 the harvesting was carried out in Macanas, Puerto Moreno, and Margarita beds as well as in the islands of Coche and Cubagua and the Araya Peninsula.⁵³

The Guaiquerí Indian was an expert swimmer, a dextrous diver and an extraordinary fisherman. He made his living through the exploitation of the abundant ocean resources

coupled with a little agriculture.

The encomenderos preferred the Indians over their negro slaves because the latter, having found out the value of pearls, would often hide their finds or steal them from the natives. They often denied the existence of pearls, in areas known to contain rich pearl beds.⁵⁴

In 1720 the General Supplier of Cumaná, along with four canoe-owners from the city, reported that pearling was drawing to a close because, by not using the Indians, the negro slaves were hiding the pearls in beds at depths from six to 12 fathoms.⁵⁵ Around this period 12 settlers were involved in harvesting with Indians.⁵⁶

At the end of the sixteenth century pirates and corsairs increased their activities along the southern shore of the Caribbean. Spain's rivals, such as France and England, would draw close to the islands and coast, at times to trade, and at other times to attack the modest coastal populations. Cumaná, a coast city, did not escape these surprise attacks, burnings and raids, in which churches were sacked and the royal coffers robbed. The French and English were persistent in their efforts to undermine Spain's naval power and her economy. These attacks were one of the tactics they employed to break the monopoly Spain had on overseas kingdoms. However, despite this monopoly, Cumaná, and the smaller settlements along the coast of the eastern region, participated in intense contraband activities that were not

only justifiable but helped to stimulate their severely limited economies in which shortages of all kinds of merchandise and foodstuffs existed.

Cumaná and the rest of the littoral settlements had few arms with which to protect themselves from these bloody raids by the foreign ships. By the same token they had no arms to protect their trade routes and ships at a time when exchanges of their salt, salted fish, hides, jerked beef and some other products from the region was the only means they had of procuring European goods. Documents relating to the region abound in cases of "illegal anchorings" (arribadas forzosas) of contraband ships. These vessels were not only foreign but also Spanish which, with the excuse of having been damaged or having suffered some other alleged setback, would abandon their legal routes to carry on illegal trade.⁵⁷

As the harvesting and production of pearls decreased, Cumaná was forced to turn to other means to sustain itself. Increasingly the settlers looked toward agriculture and cattle raising to maintain their poor diets and with which to trade and raise revenue. First, the island of Margarita and then the province of Venezuela became regions that supplied cattle to the province of Cumaná. Cattle were herded over trails and it took 12 days to travel the 150 league distance between the province of Venezuela and the province of Cumaná.⁵⁸ In 1597 2000 head of cattle and some cotton dresses were ordered to be sent from Venezuela to

Cumaná.⁵⁹

The expansion of agricultural activities were extended to the periphery of the Cumaná region, west to the Santa Fe valley and east to the coastal margins of the Cariaco Valley. South of the city, the Cumanacoa Valley formed the frontier of agricultural activities and cattle raising. The northeast valleys of the Paría peninsula, together with those of Espíritu Santo and the Río Caribe, were occupied.⁶⁰ Besides this, in the lower valley of the Río Manzanares, Chara and Ipures were established. These agricultural areas were set aside to be utilized by the Guaiqueríes Indians who were located on the mouth of this river and inland from the land of the settlers. In the sector of the Río Manzanares later known as the Cumanacoa Valley, cattle ranches were established. The short valleys on the northern coast were small plains formed through a process of infilling by which dejection cones which, because of their flattish slopes, permitted the establishment of agricultural activities. The encomiendas of pearl diving and agricultural Indians were located in valleys called (from west to east) Gurintar, Lunatar, Guaracayar, Mariguntar, Parabacoa, Puerto de la Vieja, Chachamaure, Caramuntar, Dirintar and Cariaco. The two groups were distributed in two doctrinas according to whether they were to be utilized for pearling or agriculture.⁶¹ Indians with canoes were to carry out their work in pearl harvesting areas while the "macana" Indians had to

work in the cane mills which produced cane juice (melado). Some agricultural workers were also moved eight to 10 leagues to the Valley of Cumanacoa where the wealthier citizens of Cumaná had tobacco, cacao and corn fields as well as good pasture land for their cattle.⁶²

The area on the Northern side of the Cariaco Gulf is rather rugged; it has no rivers because of the lack of precipitation and the high evaporation rate, and is a landscape of cactus plants which in that period offered few possibilities of developing agricultural activities. On the western frontier of the peninsula a fort was founded in order to ward off attacks from corsairs and pirates and to guard the salt deposits at Araya.

The western margin of Araya was the meeting place for the encomienda Indians who lived in small coastal towns on the other side of the Gulf. They, along with the negro slaves, were used in the pearl and fishing industries in the area.⁶³ Along the coast of the peninsula, rich in marine fauna, net fishing took place at the beginning of each year, utilizing Indian labor, when the owners of nets would have them ready.

From the sixteenth century, the arid section of Paria was frequently visited by foreign ships. In the second quarter of the seventeenth century, following the occupation of the Carribean Islands (Martinique, Santo Tomás, Curacao, and others) by the English, French and Dutch, they were

used as bases for more intensified attacks against the Spanish population and for centers of illegal trade on the coasts.

The Cumanacoa Valley was the seat of the city of San Baltazar de los Arias and its political and administrative jurisdiction included the entire extension of the valley, a zone noted for its fertility which permitted a variety of types of cultivation, and in particular had high quality pastures. This facilitated the breeding of cattle and made it possible to supply meat to the fort at Araya and to the city of Cumaná.⁶⁴

The lower reaches of the Río Manzanares was essentially an agricultural area in which the partido of Chara and Ipure were located. Settlers from the city sometimes stayed there.⁶⁵ In Chara (estimated to have an area of about three square leagues), there were 11 ranches in which corn was the principal crop and also there were eight or nine encomiendas assigned by the Crown; three of these were composed of Indians who worked in the pearl industry. The seven or eight remaining ones plus four of the ranches grew the best cacao trees in the area and had significant tobacco and corn crops. Manioc, legumes and other food plants were also grown.

The Río Cariaco, that runs from the Bergantín Mountains and empties into one end of the Cariaco Gulf, also formed an important agricultural district. There existed several Indian settlements that provided an important source of

manual labor for the agricultural and fishing enterprises. The Indians were supposed to alternate for different periods of time between these two activities.

In the valleys of Carúpuna and Puerto Santo, situated in the central zone of the northern coast of the Paría Peninsula, an area more humid than the western zone, small settlements were founded by settlers from Cumaná and the island of Margarita.⁶⁶

The town of Cumanagotos, on the banks of the Río Neverí, was the administrative center of this agricultural area that extended along the valley. The rate of production in the jurisdiction of this settlement, is shown by the returns on the collection of the ten percent tax on fruits and spices which was consistently considered to be high. The ten percent tax was paid in pearls due to the lack of any other type of money.⁶⁷

Cumaná maintained close commercial relations with its neighbor Cumanagotos and from the latter settlement fresh meat was brought to the city and sold at eight reales per arroba (25 pounds). Cattle were sold at 11 reales per head.⁶⁸

Toward the middle of the seventeenth century Cumaná's economic state remained extremely precarious. The city lacked the principal public buildings and its poverty was such that it not only lacked a home and municipal office for the Governor but it was also without a slaughter house

and fish processing plant.⁶⁹ The population was forced to do without the most fundamental urban services and for lack of funds could not even pay to have the streets cleaned.⁷⁰ To encourage the settlers all sales taxes were eliminated; this, however, did not extend to foreigners, nor to production within the pearl industry.⁷¹

By 1643 profit from the sale of pearls was almost nonexistent since they were no longer paying the five percent tax.⁷² According to one source, the economic depression was due to the general political disorder of the administration. Ordinances relating to pearl fishing were not carried out, there was practically no administration of justice; urban lots and houses were free of any farm tax and the officials of the Crown--deputies, mayors of settlements, etc.--did not turn over their records to their successors.

Administrative corruption, plus the absence of sufficient authorities at the local level of government, accentuated the chaos within which the city found itself. The municipality had only one alderman--the rest had just abandoned their positions--the two councillors were brothers-in-law and justice was administered according to personal interest. It was also reported that the more powerful citizens were selling contraband items in their homes, or in public places, without ever having to submit themselves to a residencia examination. The poor people, on the other hand, had to pay for the complete lack of justice, of aldermen, for being in

a city without any viable form of government.

The plight of the rural population was even worse and the exploitation which the Indian was forced to endure became a powerful factor in the socioeconomic disintegration of the area and in the decrease in numbers of Indians. The encomenderos in their desire for wealth often sent the natives to work at such great distances that they never returned, but rather perished trying to fulfill impossible work orders, or ran away from cruel and inhuman treatment to which they were subjected by the estate owner himself or his overseer, who would customarily take away a portion of even the smallest wage that they earned. In the seventeenth century itself, the encomienda labor force lacked any type of work code because the estate owners considered that the only way to keep them from escaping was to maintain the rigid archaic customs already well established.

A report of 1643 notes that in effect the Indians were treated as were slaves and that the Church participated in this custom by censuring any escapes by the Indians. It is that the Church was, at least in this region, firmly on the side of the estate owners.⁷³ The process of economic development was indeed slow and full of obstacles for the capital and its dependencies. To the problems already enumerated must also be added the constant threat of the Carib Indians who lived on nearby Islands.

By 1670 the Province of Cumaná included an area of

about 20,000 square leagues inhabited by fewer than 500 Spaniards who could bear arms.⁷⁴ The isolation of the region and its almost totally unarmed population placed those small and modest urban settlements at the mercy of their enemies. Nor could Cumaná depend on any assistance from the neighboring provinces since they were in little better economic condition.

The citizens of Cumaná petitioned that more military detachments be allotted, and paid for from an allowance from the Crown chest in order to renovate the city and especially the port of Ostias which was their main concern and also the fort at Araya. With these renovations it was hoped that the presence of an urban population could be guaranteed and that the oyster beds that had not been worked for the last ten years could be reopened.⁷⁵

In the English attack of 1659 the city was totally destroyed because there was no way of preventing them from carrying away anything of worth either from public or private buildings. Against an entire fleet the city could only muster a force of 40 (out of a possible 80) poorly armed individuals.⁷⁶

Besides their agricultural and cattle ranching activities the settlers were also supposed to guard the ports and coves within the city's jurisdiction up to a distance of five leagues around the entire shore.⁷⁷ Ten years later the Governor reported that the caja real had no available

funds owing to the shortage of land and the scarcity of resources. For this reason he petitioned that the encomiendas be extended for one more lifetime.⁷⁸

The fact that the city was surrounded by deep trenches and that most of its perimeter was walled demonstrates that its defense was of the utmost importance.⁷⁹ Governor Palacio Rada confirmed that the easy access to the city from its eastern flank was a prime factor in explaining the continual presence of pirates on the coast.⁸⁰

In the 1770's it was reported that the city had 38 worthy and prosperous citizens, the rest were extremely poor and without any kind of economic resources.⁸¹ The small group of wealthy people formed a small oligarchy that directed the settlement's economy because they were either members of the municipal authority or had family ties with members of this group. The economic well-being of this group depended upon their encomienda holdings, their pearling canoes, or their commercial activities in the import-export trade.

The capital and the minor settlements within its limits continued to develop at a low economic level and any abrupt change or abnormal activity affected their development. A strong earthquake caused serious setbacks to the population because a significant number of houses collapsed.⁸² In the same period a three-year drought caused a maize shortage, maize being basic to the diet of these poor Spanish settle-

ments.⁸³ Thus a fanega (circa 1.5 bushels) which normally cost 12 reales could not be found anywhere at a price lower than 50 reales.⁸⁴ The visits by the Spanish Oidores (members of the Spanish Audiencia court) were also an influential factor in the poverty of the settlements. A city official complained of the more than two year residence of Oidor Agüero, above all during a time of such poverty and drought. The residency costs of this one person cost the city 14,000 pesos, which forced the settlers to sell their slaves, jewelry and other valuable objects in order to pay off the debt.⁸⁵

In the general report of the Real Hacienda of Cumaná for 1683-84, the charges on confiscated merchandise and contraband amounted to more than 37% of the total revenue. This amount was obtained through the auction of these confiscated articles (including negros) in the public square. This type of information which is difficult to locate demonstrates the economic importance of illegal commerce in Cumaná and in the coastal region. Principally, contraband was in the hands of the English, French and especially the Dutch. Revenues from the 10% tax represented 19% of the intake for the Caja Real. Among this total revenue those corresponding to the Río Manzanares, Bordones, Santa Fe and Cariaco Valley were quantitatively the most significant.⁸⁶

Other taxes followed in descending importance. According

to the registered certificates showing duties (Almojari-fazgo and Armada de Barlovento), Cumaná maintained constant trade with the province of Venezuela (Caracas), with the islands of Margarita, Trínidad and Española, to which fish, sugar, cacao and cane juice were taken. At that time, fish constituted the prime product of exportation from that part of Cumaná. From the city of Santo Domingo came imports of lard and meat.⁸⁷

The media anata (a tax placed on administrative posts, be they political or military, on the annual intake of the estates and other land grants) was an important source of revenues for the Royal Exchequer.⁸⁸ The following represented financial outlays for the Real Hacienda: salaries for the administrative and religious authorities; payment for the gift of wine and oil which had been stipulated by the Crown; the cost of paper, ink, sealing wax used by officials; warehouse costs for the corn and cacao being supplied to the fort at Araya, and some extraordinary costs such as the building of the Fort San Antonio de la Eminencia.⁸⁹

At the end of the seventeenth century, Cumaná was still steeped in poverty. The settlers blamed their desperate situation on the constant necessity they had of leaving their work to guard the city. This activity only aggravated the already existent scarcity of food. City funds were insufficient to maintain the jail and a slaughterhouse. The population lacked all types of instruction, and the

shortsightedness of the wealthy prevented them from paying a teacher.⁹⁰

Cumaná tried to find a solution to its economic crisis by means of another petition to the King. Confronted with the obvious need of manual labor,⁹¹ the citizens asked for 200 more negro slaves and a repayment period of two years. They requisitioned permission to send a ship or a frigate from the port of Cumaná loaded with cocoa, brazilwood and tobacco--products that were all abundant in the provinces. They also asked for the introduction of coin and other monies worth one-quarter and one-half a real for use in the city, since such coins were already in circulation in Spain.

The epidemics introduced by the Europeans in the newly settled area were the fundamental cause of the decrease in the the number of Indians used for manual labor, and this was an important factor in the economic depression experienced by the urban center. In 1694 a smallpox epidemic and another of measles spread through the rural and urban population. Of course the manual laborers were the most affected since they were already physically weakened by the slave labor methods applied to them, and the inadequate quantity and quality of food they were given. The capital's inhabitants complained about the scarcity of negros for domestic work, a scarcity again caused by smallpox.⁹²

Besides the above mentioned causes, the establishment of the Guaiquerí corsairs also caused a decrease in the

Indian population. Their function was to repulse and dislodge the English and Dutch from the Cumaná coast. The Indians making up this force would leave the coast to attack whatever foreign ships threatened the shore. In these unequal battles many Indians were killed, while others were stranded in distant provinces, leaving their homes and families abandoned and without means of support.⁹³

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the encomiendas had decreased significantly. This was due to their being abandoned outright in the face of the new royal dispositions that tended to protect the Indian and eliminate him absolutely from personal service to the encomendero. Other estates had remained vacant owing to the death of the encomendero and others were so small that they were incorporated into one single encomienda.⁹⁴ As has already been shown, the encomienda system in the eastern section of present day Venezuela, did not have the force nor the influence in regard to populating the area as it had in the rest of the Spanish Indies.⁹⁵

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Spanish colonization had not been able to become established to the south, in the high plains. Cumanacoa remained the only urban center in the easterly and inland sector of the province. The slow but persistent colonization of the Aragonese Capuchins was clearly influenced by the contour of the land following the natural mountain waterways with access to the

sea.

The extension of economic activities among the settlers was also slow and never extended too far from the urban settlements. The "Charas and Ipures" along the Río Manzanares remained a basic unit with regard to agricultural production where corn, bananas, sugar cane and fruit trees were grown. Other settlers maintained their ranches in the short, warmer, eastern valleys of the Cariaco Gulf. This included the Cariaco Valley, where they grew cocoa and sugar cane. The crops from these valleys were taken to the capital on large flat-bottomed canoes (piraguas), the usual means of transportation in that area.

According to the Viceroy Villalonga,⁹⁶ the settlers of the city also owned and occupied lands to the west, toward the valley of Santa Fe, where they specialized in coffee growing. This section of the Caribbean littoral was also known to be favored by the Dutch.⁹⁷ The settlers from Cumaná and Margarita, established in the humid northern valleys of the Paría mountains, extended agricultural production from the hamlet (pueblecillo) of Río Caribes to the town of Carúpano. The produce was sold on that same coast or on Margarita Island. It is necessary to point out that in the urban settlements as well as the rural ones fishing played a fundamental role. Fish was not only a basic food for the people, but was also an important trade product.

The people of the northern coast of the province were not

the only ones engaged in contraband. The natives that inhabited the lowlands, the southern valleys of the Paría peninsula and the low delta land of the eastern sector (the present day state of Sucre y Monagas) also kept up an intensive stream of illegal trade with the foreigners who visited those coasts and lived on other Caribbean islands.

The foreigners would enter along the Río Guarapiche and its tributaries arriving at the heart of the plain where they would "trade" with the Carib tribes from whom they would obtain cattle and other captive natives whom they would then enslave and carry back to their islands. The city reported to the King that it would be worthwhile to found villages of Spaniards on the other side of the Bergantín mountains in order to dominate the rebellious natives and fugitives who would often run away to the coast. It was pointed out that this would eliminate the intense illegal trade in European merchandise, including arms, and would secure the existence of the missions and of the Spanish settlements. The places chosen for the new settlements were strategically and economically important. The sites were: the district where the Río Aragua comes into contact with the savanna (Aragua de Maturín); the site known as "Maturín," on the banks of the Guarapiche (capital of the present day state of Monagas); and lastly, the valleys to the south of the Paría Peninsula.

Contraband became a serious problem to the civil and religious authorities. The Dutch had founded three colonies

relatively close to the mouth of the Río Orinoco not very distant from the borders of the Province of Cumaná. The Dutch, English and Carib Indians were in continual contact, and the islands of Jamaica and Curaçao had become centers of operation for all of these foreigners and enemies of Spain.⁹⁸

In 1736 the Governor reported that the coast and valleys of Paría⁹⁹ were inhabited by a group called "Barauna", a gentle nation of Parías "who had become involved in the illegal sale of other native captives to the foreigners." The Governor also pointed out that this sector had become a refuge for Indians who escaped from the missions.¹⁰⁰

The political and administrative organization was a hindrance to the economic development of the capital and the province. Government initially depended on the distant "Audiencia" in Santo Domingo and later on the equally distant Viceroyalty at Nueva Granada and was subject to a wide range of difficulties and risks to transportation and communication.

The process of converting the semi-nomadic Indians to a sedentary existence, attempted by the religious community, permitted an increase for the Real Hacienda in direct proportion to the amount these natives began contributing to the Crown. Tribute from the rural population increased with the advance of the native populations and speeded up the process by which a town went from being a mission to a doctrina.¹⁰¹ Cumaná exercised control of the rural settlements along

with the Spanish Magistrate (Corregidor). The Magistrate was in charge of collecting tributes that were destined for the Caja Real and which contributed to the maintenance of the urban bureaucracy among whom can be included members of religious groups. The Magistrate was accused of reducing the Indians to a state of utter poverty since he repressed them in every manner he could hoping to make them work to the absolute limit. The result was they they had no time to work their own agricultural plots and consequentially suffered all types of deprivation.¹⁰² In the end they could hardly produce enough for their own subsistence.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Cumaná and the other Spanish centers under its political and administrative jurisdiction were experiencing sluggish economic development. The city did not have a market place in the square nor in its streets because agricultural produce was sold in the settlers' own houses. Around this time a change of course in the Río Manzanares occurred which destroyed the fruit orchards of the settlers and forced them to move to lands farther from the city. On this land the settlers continued planting cacao, sweet cane, corn, manioc, bananas, beans and other tropical fruits with which they supplied the city.¹⁰³

The Río Manzanares was navigable in piraguas for a distance of four leagues upstream where the Maracapana, one of its tributaries, emptied into it. This allowed for at least water transportation of agricultural products.

Inland commerce was reduced to the transportation of products from the region itself: corn, cazabe, cocoa, tobacco, cane juice, fish, salt, horses and mules, all of which were used for commerce within the borders of the province. The only tax on this type of commerce was the alcabala, a two percent tax on everything that was sold. The sources also point out that within the district of Cumaná there were no cattle or smaller types of livestock except for some cows and bulls brought in for those who ate fresh meat; most of the people, however, ate salted or jerked meat exclusively.¹⁰⁴

Illegal commerce or contraband was on the increase during the second half of the eighteenth century. Smuggling with the French, English, Danes and especially with the Dutch provided an economic impetus to the capital and indeed to the entire region; and the settlers of the eastern sector found in these foreign traffickers a good market for their agricultural products their cattle. While the Dutch were paying 20 pesos per fanega of cacao, two pesos per a hide, and 14 reales for an "arroba of fat"; the Spanish hardly paid 12 pesos for the cacao and ten reales for the fat. Additionally, the foreigners supplied the settlers with a great variety of European articles and with slaves the settlers needed on their cattle ranches. Poor, isolated Spaniards found much profit in closing their eyes to the illegality of such

trading practices.

The report from 1757 to 1758 indicates that all classes found in the urban population participated in contraband. Upon learning of the presence of a "frigate" on the island of Granada, the citizens of Cumaná could embark in their launches loaded with salt fish, salt meat, hides, cocoa, tobacco rolls, all of which would go to the island in exchange for rum. The rum brought in illegally was brought in barrels with a capacity of 160 flasks, each launch holding twelve barrels.

Places of entry for the contraband in the city were: the port and beach of Salado; the Río Bordones, to the west of the city; through the Port of Barbudo and the Río Cumaná (the Manzanares). The rum was then sold in the district of Chiclana for four reales a flask.¹⁰⁵ One can calculate, therefore, that 240 barrels (38,400 flasks) imported in six months would entail a sale of some 133,600 reales.

Our informant states that the disorder of the city was due to negligence and lack of vigilance on the part of the urban authorities. They in turn excused their lack of operating ability by their somewhat suspicious absence from the city.¹⁰⁶ According to the report, each and every house in the city was a store in which the finest goods of every type were available. These included domestic utensils and a

variety of other European products. Additionally, negro women and mulatos sold their goods publically in the streets of the city.¹⁰⁷

Other Spanish ports and settlements participated in this traffic. From Río Caribe, Puerto Santo, Esmeralda, and Carúpano all located on the northern coast of the Paría Peninsula, cocoa was harvested and illegally exported. The city of San Felipe and Cumanacoa, farther inland, lost no opportunity to sell their crops the same way, all of which were taken out via the port of Esmeralda with destination in Curaçao and Granada.¹⁰⁸

The coast guard of the Royal Caracas Company (Real Compañía Guipuzcoana), located at La Guaira, guarded the western coast. This, however, did not impede the inhabitants of Cumaná from participating in the illegal trade that took place with the nearby Caribbean islands.

Nor was the city of Barcelona free from illicit trafficking in mules, salted meat, cocoa, hides, fat and tobacco which was taken out from the bay east of the mouth of the Rio Neveri.

As can be seen in Table 22, the quantity of hides illegally exported or falsely entered registers was significant.¹⁰⁹ And this amount does not include the thirty "lanchas de tierra" used in illicit smuggling.

Another article used by the Cumaná settlers in contrabanding was the "plata doble," the only coin available in

Table 22. Alleged export of hides to Spanish colonies, 1757-1758

<u>Registered destination</u>	<u>Actual destination</u>	<u>Hides (No.)</u>
Puerto Rico	Curacao	6000
Cartagena	"	3000
Cartagena	"	1500
Puerto Rico	"	4500
Santo Domingo	"	2000
<hr/> Total		17,000

Source: ANHC, vit. I-,03, Colección, British Museum, Cumaná; November 14, 1759.

the province and the "plata cortada" that was later introduced.¹¹⁰ So intense was trade in these coins that despite the allowance of 44,000 pesos worth of them that left Veracruz in New Spain each year, there were never any left in the province; all finished up in Curaçao since the Dutch were paying from 28% to 32% more for these coins than anyone else. This type of contraband normally was organized from the furthest projections of the coastal headlands. Among the most preferred places to carry out this sort of trafficking were: Punta de Araya; Punta de Peña, five leagues to the east; Puerto Obispo and Chocopata, 5-1/2 and leagues and 10 leagues from the city. At these places significant amounts of brazil-wood and guayacán (Guajacum officinale) were taken out.¹¹¹ At Puerto Esmeralda, located

ten leagues to the east of Chocopata, a large portion of the cacao crop was also exported. And via the same route quantities were imported destined for Cumaná, Cumanacoa and Cariaco and other inland territories. At Carúpano and Puerto Santo (close to Río Carib) visiting Dutch "sloops" were a constant pressure, arriving there to trade mules and cocoa for clothes. The cocoa harvest in this jurisdiction was 4000 loads, from which a profit was made selling it to Dutch at 19 or 20 pesos per fanega, whereas Spain only offered 12 pesos. Around the port of Río Carib and Port San Juan (Unare) important sales were made in wood. The hot region abounded in good wood trees such as: cedar (Cedrela mexicana), laurel (Nectandre pichurim), and oak (Catalpa longise-ligue sims) and others. The center for the smuggling trade were the port at Bergantín, the Río Guarapiche and all of the coastal zone of the Paría Gulf. From these centers a large quantity of mules and tobacco were taken out.¹¹²

By 1760 Cumaná's economic expansion was still limited to a small area of the northern sector of the province. The area within the Guanipa mesa, the delta flatland, low lying and flooded at times, and the Río Guarapiche were considered unknown and impassable. This was due to the fact that they were characterized by extensive swamps and lagoons that originated in the frequent floodings of the rivers that ran through the sector.¹¹³ Cattle that had become feral in this area were not sufficient in number to sustain a small

village.¹¹⁴

To the southeast of the Bergantín mountain range, from where the Río Caribe descends, was the wide valley of the San Juan. This land was considered "desértico" because of its scant population, despite the fact that it had been judged suitable for all types of cultivation, especially for cocoa plantations. The high valleys of the Turimiquire Cocollar range (the highest in the Bergantín Mountains and of the whole eastern mountain area) had a pleasantly cool climate and land suited for "European crops." However, these lands were left uncultivated, not only for lack of persons to farm but also because there was no one to consume these types of crops. Indeed, as has been shown, except by a lone missionary here and there in Caripe and San Antonio, there was no demand for these products.¹¹⁵ The zone of western Paría was only fit for goat herding.¹¹⁶

In the seventies various salt deposits were exploited on the shores of the province and an important amount of salt was used in trade with the province of Venezuela (Caracas). Between the towns of Irapa and Soro, on the southern shore of the Paria peninsula, there was also a small salt deposit, but this was worked exclusively by the Indians for their own consumption. There was another deposit at Chaguaramos, located six or seven leagues windward of the Spanish town of Río Caribe, another one at Carúpano, and another east of Punto de Araya. Near to the old formerly worked salt

deposit there was another one being worked and lastly, on the beach close by the provincial capital, another deposit was used by the urban population.¹¹⁷ In the central area of the Paría Peninsula, agriculture had become intensified, in the Carúpano and Río Caribe valleys. By 1761, when Governor Diguja made his visitation around the province, there were 60 working plantations; 25 grew cacao and the rest had sugar cane and fruits. The settlers of Río Caribe had 15 more plantations, four of which grew sugar cane and fruits. The plantations of the two towns had a total of 53,403 cacao trees which produced 273 to 300 fanegas of cacao.¹¹⁸

The wide trench of the Cariaco valley was the location of another important agricultural center. Governor Diguja found that the fertile valley of Cariaco had the richest cacao plantation of the entire province. These lands belonged to the people of the cities of Cumaná and Cariaco who used the river itself to irrigate their fields. The largest hacienda in the valley produced almost 100 fanegas of cacao, while altogether there were 59,200 old and new trees producing some 330 fanegas. Corn and manioc were equally important there. In 1761 the city of San Felipe de Austria, with a population of 1397, was the urban center with the largest number of plantation owners and laborers.¹¹⁹

In the middle of the Río Manzanares valley, another important agriculture center, San Baltasar de los Arias,

was founded. With jurisdiction extending as far as the Rio Orinoco, this center contained 26 plantations owned by the Cumanacoan settlers and some cattle ranches. On the plantations, bananas, sugar cane, yuca and tobacco were grown. This last product was shipped to the city of Cumana. The excessive cost of transportation over rough, narrow and what were called "sour" (agrios) roads did not make shipment of other agricultural products worthwhile. The major complaint of the settlers at that time was the scarcity of people and the poverty of the land near the city.¹²⁰ The city of Cumaná, located in the delta region of the Río Manzanares, "a cannon's shot" from the beach and located at the entrance of the Cariaco Gulf, had an ample beach that could be used for unloading. Fort Santa Catalina, a rudimentary fortification made from poles, supported by 243 stones and mud, protected the left bank at the mouth of the river (Figure 26).

The capital of the province vegetated with the small sum of 16 to 20 pesos annually as "public funds" (propios) which came from small amounts received from renting town land and from its four municipally controlled general stores (pulperías). Because of the small quantity of available funds, the city went without the most necessary public works such as a jail, a town council building, and any schools. The parish church was small, old and constructed of wattle and daub.

According to Governor Diguja, the scarcity of revenues

in the public funds was due to "the little intelligence in regard to good government that members of the municipality should possess and to the general poverty of the area."¹²¹

According to the account of the urban settlers themselves, they owned 57 plantations dedicated essentially to the production of sugar cane. This was used in the making of from 200 to 300 jars of molasses used to supply the aguardiente monopoly. Some of the sugar cane was also reserved for consumption in the city. Some of the plantations were located in the allegedly unhealthy valleys of the gulf, where they had small areas under cacao production, but from which they could not get a crop greater than 50 fanegas a year. In addition to this, the plantations also produced corn, manioc and some fruits.¹²²

Governor Diguja pointed out that in the early 1760's the city had experienced a minor economic recession, owing to a combination of poor harvests and an almost complete absence of trade; all of which hindered plans for further development.¹²³

These economic difficulties suffered by the city had repercussions throughout the population. The Governor points out that the plantation owners had to economize in their own homes and the rest of the population suffered extraordinary poverty.¹²⁴ He also reported that by this time, except for the Guaranos Indians, the rest of the native population had been subdued. The Guaranos, them-

selves were located in the delta region of the Río Orinoco. They lived in settlements located in muddy marshlands which were difficult to approach due to the complex system of waterways characteristic of that area.¹²⁵

The two Guaiquerí settlements, located on both sides of the Río Manzanares were free from tribute payments. They were also the only Indians with their own officials and were responsible for their own government. The exploitation, however, to which the city dwellers submitted them had greatly reduced their numbers. The native inhabitants of Altagracia and Socorro traditionally were reknowned fishermen and for this reason the urban population lived at the expense of the fishing carried out by these people on the continental shelf. Fish were abundant in this area that extended from the Tres Puntas Cape on the Paría Peninsula to the town of Pozuelos (in the present day state of Anzoátegui) and farther out almost to the mouth of the Río Unare.¹²⁶

If one takes into account the slow development of the cattle industry across the Cumanese plainlands and the fact that meat had to be imported from the neighboring provinces of Barcelona, one can better understand the importance of fish in the urban population's diet. Fish was eaten fresh in the coastal settlements and salted in the ones located more than two days distance inland.

On the peninsula a kind of fish supply system was

established among several residents of Araya. According to contemporary accounts, at the beginning of each year the settlers would ready their nets and later would carefully apportion the catch to supply the province of Venezuela as well as Cumaná; the amount of fish transported amounted to 381 quintals per year.

In 1761 the rural population was distributed in 13 mission towns and 21 doctrinas (excluding the Guaiquerí towns). They were organized in eight sub-units under a Magistrate of Indian affairs (corregidor), appointed by the city, who was in charge of maintaining the peace and administering justice. Above all, he was in charge of collecting tribute from the natives, and also taxes that the Indians who were of tribute age had to pay if they lived in doctrinas.

After the second decade of the eighteenth century, tributes began to increase and constituted a significant revenue for the accounts of the city of Cumaná. By 1761, the revenues of the Real Hacienda taken through tributes from the rural population amounted to over 42,000 pesos. This sum went toward the maintenance of the urban bureaucracy.

By this time Cumaná had two cajas reales within its jurisdiction: the principal one in the city while its subordinate one was located in Guayana at Angostura. As can be seen in Table 23, the revenues of the Caja Real in Cumaná were composed of a range of taxes, totalling over 33,000

Table 23. Annual Income of Cajas
Reales, Cumana, 1761

<u>ENTRADAS</u>	<u>PESOS</u>	<u>REALES</u>	<u>MARAVEDIES</u>	<u>%</u>
Extraordinarios	2003	4	12	5.9
Almojarifazgo - 15%	179	0	27	0.5
Almojarifazgo - 5%	232	4	23	0.7
Almojarifazgo - 2.5%	476	5	13	1.4
Oficios Vendibles	56	3	0	0.1
Demoras de Indios	331	1	18	1.0
Papél Sellado	966	7	18	2.9
Media Anata	408	1	13	1.2
Armada de Barlovento	967	4	12	2.9
Ventas de Tierra	179	2	0	0.5
Comisos	1345	3	17	4.0
Salinas	185	1	20	0.5
Diezmos	2332	2	6	7.0
Novenos	661	7	2	2.0
Alcabalas	994	4	21	3.0
Contribuciones	4267	2	13	12.8
Tributos	2390	4	6	7.1
Penas de Cámara	101	4	7	0.2
Bula Cruzada	703	6	26	2.1
Plaza Vacantes	9744		27	29.2
Desertores	3043		1	9.1
Esclavos	94	7	27	0.3
Estandos Aguardiente	1462	4	27	4.4
Caldos Comisados	130	5	1	0.4
Ventas Fusiles	32	6	23	0.1
Gastos de Justicia	20			
Composición, Pulperías	18			
Total	33,354	2	16	100.0

Source: BM, Add. Mss. 13987, Document 16, fols. 64-86, dated 1761.

pesos in 1761. When Diguja visited the Office of the Royal Exchequer in Cumaná he found just over 84,000 pesos.¹²⁷

Despite the fact that within the jurisdiction of the city of Baltasar de los Arias there were 15 ranches raising

cattle and other types of livestock, they were still importing 4000 hides and from five to 6000 arrobas of fat. Fourteen of the cattle ranches within the province of Cumaná belonged to settlers from Cumanacoa, who among them possessed 1390 animals. The other ranch belonged to the Aragon Capuchinos who had another 3563 head of cattle.

The provincial production of cacao was estimated to be 800 fanegas, 150 of which were consumed in the city of Cumaná, and its region and on Margarita. An equal amount was transported to Española and Puerto Rico. The other 500 fanegas were exported illegally.¹²⁸

Governor Diguja states that much of the dried meat and skins produced were also exported illegally and adds that approximately 8000 skins, 8000 arrobas of fat, 500 fanegas of cacao and from 29,000 to 30,000 silver pesos suffered the same fate. Besides this, other foodstuffs (salt beef, cazabe and fruit) were also illegally exported. In exchange, the people obtained agricultural tools, knives, cotton, linen and some other trifles of little worth, and everything of the poorest quality."¹²⁹

The city dwellers involved in illegal importations were from the wealthy class. They were the same people who owned canoes and had close ties to Dutch commerce on the island of Curaçao. The crews of their launches were commanded by Spaniards and criollos.

The imported merchandise was then sold in the city by

the owners at extremely high prices. The poor people (la pobretería) involved in the trade would take their small launches to the coast, loaded with skins, fat, salt meat, fish and some money. There they would meet the Dutch ships ready to exchange goods. The foreign ships, lying openly at anchor, did not waste their time. They unloaded their goods and sold them in the city and did not lose an opportunity to do commerce with boats that were trading between Cumaná and the provinces of Barcelona and Caracas.¹³⁰ The city authorities were aware of these illegal anchorings, but obviously this was the only way the citizens had of acquiring clothes and other European articles which were usually not to be had in the poorly supplied eastern settlements.

The Dutch, settled in the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara, were bent on raiding and trafficking contraband throughout the provincial coast, from the Río Orinoco.

The Guipuzcoana Company, legally formed in 1728, was obliged to supply the province of Caracas. The Company, operating within a monopoly system, was authorized to transport excess merchandise to Cumaná, Trínidad and Margarita in exchange for gold, silver and fruits used in trade with Spain. During the governorship of Diguja, the Basque Caracas Company attempted to extend its monopoly to Cumaná Province, but its aspirations were frustrated when the Barcelona Royal Company was granted authorization to operate

in this province.¹³¹

The intense illegal trade taking place up and down the eastern coast was one of the serious problems this New Catalan company had to face. It was reported that trafficking in contraband took place in full view of the highest authorities and gravely affected the interests of the company since the value of what was sent to the city did not correspond to what was brought back. The company's mercantile policy was set up to handle exports and imports.¹³² And lastly it should be added that this very same company was accused of the very same type of trafficking that was affecting it from without.¹³³

After 1770, with the establishment of relations between Cumaná and the Barcelona Company, the city's economic position began to improve due to the upturn in commercial activity and to the impulse that produced in agriculture and cattle raising.

Undoubtedly, the increased pace of commercial enterprise in regard to cattle raising and agricultural production produced extremely interesting population changes. The concentration of capital in the hands of a few inhabitants tied directly or indirectly to agro-commerce accentuated the difference in the social class structure. This differentiation was based on agricultural production and cattle raising that were being carried on and intensified at various sites in the rural area on cattle ranches and plantations. The

fundamental element of this production, of course, was the rural slave population subjected now to an inhuman work system. Blacks, constantly being brought in and incorporated into rural work, carried out an important role in this production. The quantitative and qualitative changes within the population were accompanied by some modest developments in the city itself. In 1773, the Governor registered 146 new homes that had been built within eight years. Some of them were constructed with stone work and had tile roofs; others had simple walls covered with whitewash, and others had adobe walls. Some of these homes, it has been pointed out, were quite costly.¹³⁴ During this decade, construction was also begun on the city's parish church which was provided with pews for the upper class worshippers.¹³⁵ The city's public services were also improved somewhat. The Governor mentioned that a bridge was built across the Río Manzanares at the expense of "the gracious donations from persons of noble disposition and some of humbler position,"¹³⁶ plus finance, supplied by fines. The city also boasted a new and straight road that went from the new bridge to the beach of Salado and another than went from the end of Calle Larga in a straight line to the beach of Barbudo.¹³⁷

Some other public works were carried out in order to improve communications between the city and the countryside. A new road connected the capital to the town of San Juan de Maracapana.

It should be pointed out that the development of the agro-commercial economy accentuated the difference between the city and the countryside. From the city, the regional authorities proclaimed the necessity of augmenting private land holdings at the expense of the rural or native populations. In 1773, Governor Urrutía mentioned that the increase in agricultural production was permitting the city to maintain commerce with the Barcelona Company and other private concerns that traded with Cadiz, Spain (Table 24). However,

Table 24. Products exported by the Barcelona Company from Cumana, 1768-1773

Cacao (fanegas)	22,850
Hides (cow)	19,243
Palo (oil in jars)	9
Carapa (oil in jars)	12
Coffee (in pounds)	303
Pepper (number)	178
Canela (Cinnamon, boxes)	2
Pesos en Plata (Pesos, silver)	38.757

Source: AGI, Caracas, Leg. 158, "Noticias Particulares que han Ocurrido, desde 1765 a 1773; Visita de Urrutía," dated 1773.

the increase had reached its maximum since the remaining land was communal property owned by the Indians.¹³⁸ In addition to this, Urrutía attributed the paralysis of

economic activities to the shortage of negro labor, "for the cultivation and development of these lands, because with the few [negros] that are owned there are not enough to make further progress."¹³⁹

In the same year the Governor reported that the Spanish population living near the city lacked "suitable land for agriculture and cattle raising, because each one of those [Indian] settlements, or most of them, occupy so much land that there is hardly any land left to use, especially land for agriculture which would permit an increase in production."¹⁴⁰

To the Indians located in territory designated for agricultural use, a league of land had been measured out to them from the center of their town. This then added up to a total of four square leagues (100 square kilometers). To Indian towns located on cattle land, the size was increased to nine square miles. It was now decided that these measurements were excessive and that land had remained totally unused. Thus, the urban authorities stated that the Indians could meet their food needs, solely within the lands they had converted to garden and growing use, in which, after cleaning the ground they planted their basic food-stuffs, of manioc and maize. In regard to clothes, they could earn sufficiently on the plantation and cattle ranches owned by the Spanish where the Indians worked as day workers.¹⁴¹ Effectively this new measure accomplished

two things: first it penalized the Indians for their lack of extensive agriculture, and second it forced Indians off their lands to find work on the commercial estates, a process noted elsewhere by Mellafe.

During the seventh decade of the eighteenth century, there was another effort to strengthen the urban economy through an increase in the production of fish and wood. The fish industry was centered at Araya Point where for the first time porgy (pargo) and skate (liza) were fished, with the hope that the activity could be industrialized and they could be sent to markets, not just in the colonies, but also directly to Spain. In 1778, the city of Cumaná was exporting 12,000 arrobas of salt fish, a quantity whose size was due to the hard labor of black slaves.¹⁴² Lumbering was also begun in the vicinity of the Río Manzanares.¹⁴³

It should be noted that the high cost of salt in the area (owing to the regalía, a tax levied on this product) hindered the increase in production of salted fish. The price per fanega was six reales for Indians and fishermen on the Araya Peninsula. For everyone else, salt in Araya cost 10 reales and in Cumaná, 12 reales per fanega. In 1781, a large salt warehouse (Alfolfí) was established to extend salt sales to San Felipe de Austria, Indian towns and the immediate areas.¹⁴⁴ The revenue of the Cumaná caja real coming from taxes on salt now became an important proportion of the total revenues.¹⁴⁵

The continuous wars in which Spain was engaged during the last quarter of the century now became an obstacle to the normal development of commercial activities in the province. In 1781, the records of the Barcelona Company testify to the difficulties "the critical state of war was causing in regard to supplying the Cumaná population with clothes and other articles considered indispensable to the people."¹⁴⁶ Cargoes of cacao and hides were accumulating onshore and deteriorating daily.

One of the determining factors in the slow economic development of Cumaná and its territory was the subordination of its provincial political administration to the distant government of Nueva Granada. Administrative reorganization, a partial result of the so-called Bourbon reforms of the eighteenth century, opened the way to a succession of changes and alterations that notably influenced economic life in Cumaná. The new administrative concepts took the form of a new Quartermaster Generalship of the Army and Real Hacienda, begun in 1776, and in the establishment of the Captaincy General of Venezuela, created the next year. The first of these institutions initiated a process of political, fiscal and economic consolidation which culminated in the definitive unification of the Venezuelan territory mandated by a Royal Decree of 1777. Through this measure the province of Cumaná became a constituent part of the Captaincy General of Venezuela. The process of administrative central-

ization continued with the formation of the Real Audiencia de Caracas in 1786 and was further consolidated with the creation of an important economic institution in the last decade of the eighteenth century: the consulado. With the creation of this institution the city of Cumaná now had Delegated Consuls (consules delegados).¹⁴⁷

The changes brought about in the last decades of the eighteenth century existed in a complex pattern of relationships. While some actually stimulated the development of agro-commercial activities (administrative unification, commercial liberties, etc.) others hindered it--the creation of a new state liquor monopoly (estanco) and new trade restrictions. Trade in the province was limited to small registered ports that were not the ones that would naturally have been established. This again inhibited commerce in the area. Other obstacles to trade were the arbitrary custom appraisals, and the excessive costs of transportation, specifically those charged by Cumaná launch owners, where craft were normally used. The scarcity of money also placed restrictions on trade. The actual money used was the macuquina which ascended in value to 100,000 pesos as well as the Mexican and Portuguese fuerte de cuño used in the province.¹⁴⁸

In the port of Cumaná, as in other minor parts of the province, there were a variety of taxes that affected products from the land or imports destined for consumption

by the population. The officials of the Real Hacienda reported that between 1781 and 1785, the following ships anchored at Cumaná: 10 Brigantines, two settees (saeties), 59 schooners, 24 sloops and one packet boat owned by settlers and private parties.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, the Barcelona Company that had a trade monopoly in the province had sent off only three vessels to Cadiz and the city of Barcelona loaded with 8188 fanegas of cacao and 1597 cow hides.¹⁵⁰

In 1786 the direct interchange of commercial products with Maracaibo was approved. At the same time Cumaná's trade with the Dutch and French colonies was intense. To the islands of Martinique, Guadalupe, Santo Domingo, Curaçao and Bonaire the following produce was sent: salted pork and beef, cocoa, jugs of oil, hides, coconuts, salted fish, cattle, horses and mules. Among the several concessions granted to plantation owners for exporting produce was one important one which exonerated them from taxes on fruit and other foodstuffs destined for the purchase of negro slaves.¹⁵¹

In the exceedingly full report resulting from the visita of the judicial official (oidor) from the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Luis Chaves y Mendoza complete in 1782, modifications to the old controls on Indian communal lands are evidenced.¹⁵² The city inhabitants' petition was also worthy of notice that the province had appropriated

resources for the development of products grown in tierras calientes, such as cacao, tobacco, cane, rice, indigo, maize, some grains and certain vegetables.¹⁵³ In the low valleys of the northern coast of Paría cacao grew very well. Along the river banks of the San Bonifacio, Carinuao, Sopocuar, Aragua, Guarapiche and Manzanares very good sugar was cultivated. The Río Guarapiche was also considered very suitable for cultivation due to the ease with which it could be navigated by canoes and boats.¹⁵⁴

In the vicinity of the Río Manzanares there were the Indians of San Lorenzo, San Fernando, Arenas and Aricagua. All these settlements had land available for the cultivation of indigo and sugar cane, with some land suitable for irrigation. The visitador made careful note that 12 fanegas were unappropriated land and eminently suitable for use by renters.

Between the Río Neverí and the Manzanares, 15 or 16 plantations had been established where cacao, maize and sugar cane was grown. The citizens of Barcelona and Cumaná owned the land. In the Santa Fe valley, also located between those rivers, there were abundant amounts of construction timber and brazil-wood or campeche. At this time it was decided to transfer the native population of San Juan de Maracapara to the settlement of Meseta and to concede the vacant land to the Guaiquerí Indians whose villages were near the city of Cumaná. The San Juan of Maracapara location

was extremely coveted for the easy access it offered for agricultural produce via the Río Manzanares. The inhabitants of Mariquitar were infamed that the land they rented to Spanish settlers of the town of Cumaná along the coast of the Cariaco Gulf would remain rented only until it was decided that an increase in population necessitated a change.

In the humid valleys of the Gulf of Cariaco there were cacao, sugar cane, manioc and banana plantations, belonging to various Spanish residents of Cumaná. The city of Cariaco was located at one end of the gulf where 300 families lived and some cattle farmers from the capital, Cumaná. In the Cariaco valley, five leagues to the north of the city, a small amount of land was being used, it being irrigated by means of a large channel called Manoa. Chaves y Mendoza points out that "the possibilities of further development by this settlement was limited due to its lack of a port from which its produce, maize and cazabe, could be taken out." Because of this he petitioned that the port at Saucedo or Esmeralda be readied to begin trade with Margarita.¹⁵⁵

The waters that bathed the western coast of the Araya Peninsula abounded in dogfish, labranches, and skate. Fishing with dragnets and trammel nets was already an established occupation there, and, at the same time, the people began to re-exploit the excellent salt deposits. Salted fish sent from Cumaná to Española in La Guaire was charged

six reales per fanega.

In the hot low valleys of Carúpano and Río Caribe, where the Spanish towns bearing these names are located, some of the settlers had begun planting cacao. Chaves y Mendoza estimated that they had already planted some 80,000 trees. The settlements of Amacuro, Soro, Irapa, Pilar and Coiquar were located on the southeastern coasts of the Paría Peninsula, and to the north was the settlement of Unare. Citizens from the capital owned six cacao plantations in that area,¹⁵⁶ and the official points out that Spaniards who needed to hoped to obtain the unappropriated land available in that area.¹⁵⁷

According to Chaves y Mendoza, agricultural production for the province of Cumaná was 2000 fanegas of cacao annually. There were some sugar plantations where sugar juice was made and turned into raw granulated sugar. There were also two indigo plantations. Total production amounted to 40,000 pesos a year distributed among a population of 25,172 blancos and free coloreds. There were only 3000 slaves altogether.¹⁵⁸

The Spaniards rarely used cazabe to eat, but it was employed widely to make starch. The Indians, especially the Caribs, used it extensively both as a food and also to make an alcoholic drink called carato with which they often became intoxicated. There was a state monopoly on tobacco and its production was controlled at between 2000 and 3000 pesos

per year. The Spaniards were involved in commerce of cattle and mules, which they exported from ports suitable for trade: Cumaná, Barcelona and Teresen (also known as Guarapiche). These mules usually came from ranches held by Caraqueños (owing to the shortage of good pasture land) and purchased from those dealers on the limits of the provinces of Venezuela and Barcelona, at 20 pesos per head.¹⁵⁹

In the twenty one pueblos de doctrina and fifteen missions located in the Province of Cumaná, there was a population of 3696 families which represented almost 13,000 persons, living in 2646 homes. Of this population, 1270 Indians had to pay tribute, which meant 28,650 reales in revenue. The Indians also owned 778 horses, 958 head of cattle, 362 fanegas of communal maize and 1236 pesos in the community chest. As a result of a survey of unused or underused land occupied by the Indians it was decreed that some 3720 square leagues would be taken from them and allocated for sale to non-Indian settlers.¹⁶⁰

The laws had stated that cattle ranches, or ranches containing other types of livestock, could not be established in the vicinity of Indian towns. For this reason the lands situated near the Indian towns of San Felix, San Juan de Caricuao, Chaguaramas, Maturín and Santa Barbara were declared unappropriated and turned over to Spaniards who were obliged to use them for cultivation. Chaves y Mendoza recognized the problem that many cornuqueros lived outside

the confines of their settlements and were being used by the Spaniards as a cheap source of manual labor on the cattle ranches.¹⁶¹

Since the soil of the Guaikerí Indians living in the town of Socorro was so poor that, in reality, they had no communal or private arable land whatsoever. Altagracias, the other Indian town near the city, had only 18 small plots of tillable land. And according to Chaves y Mendoza, this meant that almost 200 families had no means of sustaining themselves.

Chaves y Mendoza felt that contact between the Indians and Spaniards was beneficial for the natives since they were given the opportunity to learn urban customs, the language and how to grow new food plants. In addition to this, they could also learn useful trades.¹⁶² With this in mind, he petitioned authorization to send various Spanish artisans and workers to live in the Indian settlements. However, in the confidential section of his report he makes it quite clear that the very same civil authorities chosen to govern the doctrinas were guilty of committing a whole series of cruelties and injustices against the Indians of those towns. The poverty-stricken rural populations had no tools with which to work the land, and few had money with which to buy them. In most of the towns, the Indians lived in the poorest homes (chozas) lacking the most basic conditions to make them habitable. It appears that it was common for two

or three families to live under the same roof.¹⁶³

The residents of Cumaná also used the Indians as domestic servants. It was reported that there were 102 Indian servants in the capital and not one of them was satisfied with the pay that he had been receiving since his twelfth birthday. The stipulated pay was five pesos plus two complete changes of clothes per year. One worked a Spaniard's small farm, another was a shoemaker and another had become a tailor.¹⁶⁴

The Corregidores were accused of handing over Indians to work for insolvent persons. The Indians of the town of Pozuelos were used in workgangs on the construction of a bridge spanning the Río Manzanares, and in the report of the oidor it was made clear that these same Indians were still owed 216 reales in wages for the project. In addition, the Guaiqueríes were employed in the defense of the city, and as sentinels on the shore.

Chaves y Mendoza points out that if

a map were drawn of the province, one would note that only the northern sector sustained a population, while the central and western sectors were deserted.

If one bears in mind the fact that economic activity was centered in the north, one can readily appreciate the close relationship between population distribution and the availability of labor.

Revenues from the use of public lands (propios) owned by the city had risen significantly by the end of the

eighteenth century. Cumaná additionally had a small amount of revenue of 293 pesos, from the production of fresh and salt meat, general stores (pulperías), ground plots (solares), country mansions, and other holdings. In addition, public funds were augmented through taxing the entrance fee of cock fights held publically and a tax on travelling by boats. Curiously enough, the city, using these funds, had to pay for the following:

las fiestas a los patrones de la ciudad, la mitad del costo de las excéquias del Rey Carlos III, por la felicidad del parto de Doña Isabel, por la formación de arenceles y por el alquilar de un cuarto en que se depositaron los oficios de escribano vacantes.¹⁶⁵

In 1798 a Royal monopoly on tobacco was declared, which immediately precipitated a fall in tobacco production until finally the plant was only grown in the Cumanacoa valley. According to Humboldt, Cumanacoa tobacco and that grown in the nearby districts of San Lorenzo and Aricagua was broad-leaved and known as "Virginia" tobacco.¹⁶⁶ The 1798 tobacco harvest amounted to 3800 arobas and the following year it reached 6100. Humboldt estimates that approximately 1500 persons in the area of Cumanacoa worked in the tobacco crop. Well-prepared dried and cured tobacco sold at three pesos per aroba, later to be resold (profits going to the Crown) for 12-1/2 pesos.¹⁶⁷ At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, indigo became an

important product in the Cumanacoa valley. The valley's humidity, like that of San Fernando and Arenas, allowed the plant to grow up to four feet high. Indigo production in these areas produced a crop of 3000 pounds which sold for 4500 pesos.

By 1800, Cumaná had become an important city; it was a port for overseas and inland trade and had a population of between 18,000 and 19,000 people located between the bare slopes of the Cerro de San Antonio and the Río Manzanares.

Humboldt was surprised by the activity he encountered in the plaza of Cumaná. There he witnessed the sale of negro slaves in the large wooden galleries constructed around the square. The slaves were greased to make their skins shine and varied between the ages of 15 to 20 years. Their price was determined according to the state of their teeth and their general health. According to Humboldt the number of slaves in the provinces of Cumaná and Barcelona did not exceed 6000.¹⁶⁸

When Humboldt visited the arid land of Araya he found a solitary new salina settlement supplied by the city weekly by means of the Crown-owned launch. At Araya Point he found some poor Indian settlements, under the control of an inspector. The salt deposits there were composed of five "pans" or small lagoons, which had a surface area of about 1000 square meters and were eight inches deep. Humboldt noted that the inhabitants of the area lived by fishing,

selling their catches at Cumaná, where they then bought bananas, coconuts, manioc and other foodstuffs. However, their principal source of wealth lay in goat raising.¹⁶⁹

According to Humboldt, the llaneros living in the savannas sent their products to the port of Cumaná along what was considered an almost impossible trail. The most important of these products were hides, maize and cattle. In 1796 an excellent road was planned to go across the mountains; however, although it would have avoided many of the problems associate with the narrow and dangerous pathways, it was never concluded.¹⁷⁰

Depons, another traveller to visit Cumaná at the beginning of the nineteenth century, reports that one reason for the province's backwardness was its scant population:

if the province of Cumaná had a million farmers it could send Spain more products than all the rest of its possessions put together. In Cumaná, as in no other country, all the right factors have come together: a rich soil, hardworking black slaves, good transport facilities, and a location windward of Tierra Firme.¹⁷¹

Depons placed the population at 80,000 at that time. In this figure he included the Indians in the Capuchin missions. In the city itself he estimated a population of 24,000 inhabitants and in Cumanacoa and Curiaco, another 4200 and 6500 respectively. Depons calculates that the population had quadrupled in fifteen years. He also noted that in general the peddlers and hawkers of the urban areas tended to be Catalans or people from the Canary

Islands.¹⁷²

The main products of the Cariaco valley was cotton with a yearly output of more than 3000 quintals. However, cacao and some sugar cane was also purchased.

According to Dauxion, another visitor to Cumaná at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Decree on free trade increased agriculture and commerce during the governorship of Emparán (1793-1804). This governorship offered liberal protection to agriculture and trade. Following the decree production doubled from 1799 to 1805. There was wealth to be had and a great number of new fortunes were made.¹⁷³

The sad face of the city of "cabañas y barracas" began to change its aspect. Elegant new houses appeared with Italian-style roofing and the newly formed neighborhood, Emparán, rivalled the old center of the city in elegance.¹⁷⁴

The citizens were entirely given over to commerce and now embarked on trade missions to the foreign colonies. Primary export items now included cattle, salt beef, and salt fish. A pound of beef sold for five centavos in Cumaná. Fish was so plentiful that it practically was not even weighed and on some exceptional days it went for ten centavos for ten, 12 or even 15 pounds.

Some of the more wealthy Cumaná citizens traded with the foreign colonies, while the poor sold corn griddle cakes (arepas) and eggs and bought fish. Eggs became a mode of

exchange in the city where copper coins were unknown.¹⁷⁵

In that period a dozen eggs cost five centavos and a liter measure of good fresh milk sold for five centavos. A whole lamb cost 80 centavos and a large turkey 40 centavos. A chicken went for 10 centavos and a fat capon could be purchased for 15 or 20 centavos, the same price as duck. By 1805 Cumaná had developed from a primitive economic backwater, harassed by Indian and foreign pirate attacks, to a position of some pre-eminence in the economic framework of the Captaincy General of Venezuela. Without negro slave labor this would not have been possible. It was soon clear to the Spanish settlers that no matter how fertile the soil, or beneficent the climate, without someone to dig, furrow, harvest and move the products all was in vain.

ENDNOTES

1. According to the chroniclers naborías were Indians seized in war and used by their captors as house servants. Some have seen in this practice unmistakable signs of pre-Hispanic slavery.
2. Antonio de Herrera, "Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme," in Venezuela en los cronistas de Indias, FHCV (Caracas, 1962), Vol. 59, Decada III, Book IV, Chapt. X, p. 47.
3. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, "Carta de la Justicia y Regimiento del pueblo de Nueva Córdoba al Rey," dated Feb., 1562.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 1, "Carta de la Real Audiencia de Santo Domingo al Rey," dated Feb., 1563.
9. Lope de las Varillas, "De la conquista y población de Nueva Córdoba, 1569," in Relaciones Geográficas para Venezuela, FHCV (Caracas, 1964), Vol. 70, p. 67.
10. Ibid., p. 67.
11. Ibid., p. 68.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 69.
14. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604, (Caracas, 1967), Vol. II, p. 14.
15. Ibid., p. 37.
16. Ibid., pp. 90-91.

17. Ibid., p. 90.
18. Ibid.
19. See Eduardo Arcila Farías, Economía colonial de Venezuela, 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1973), pp. 52-53. The author argues that the steel blade was as important an innovation to the aboriginals as was electricity in the modern period, insofar as it revolutionized work habits and life styles.
20. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604, op. cit., p. 91.
21. AGI, Escribanía de Camara, Leg. 1010A, fols. 1-220, "Expediente de Nuñez de Lobo," dated 1586.
22. Ibid., fol. 7. The source confirms that the residents participated in the cabildo abierto; those participating numbered 18, and the total population was still less than 200.
23. Ibid., fol. 143.
24. Ibid., Testigo Domingo Cervantes, dated March, 1589.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604, op. cit., Vol. II, Cédula 427, p. 144.
29. Ibid., Cédula 430, p. 146.
30. Ibid., Cédula 432, p. 149.
31. Ibid., Cédula 527, p. 248.
32. Ibid., Cédula 527, p. 253.
33. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Información sobre el conocimiento de la existencia de minas de oro en presencia del Tesorero Roque Colmenares," dated 6 Nov., 1595.
34. Ibid.

35. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604, op. cit., Vol. II, Cédula 499, p. 228. By this decree the Crown requested information from the Governor on the possibility of mines in the province.
36. The denomination "Guarapiche" included the lower Río San Juan, to its mouth in the Gulf of Paría. The Río Guarapiche is but one affluent of the San Juan.
37. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "El Procurador de la ciudad de Cumaná Hernando Brito da relación al gobernador sobre la armada inglesa que llevo al puerto de dicha ciudad y hace presente ciertas necesidades urgentes de la ciudad," dated 17 May, 1616.
38. For a good account of maritime smuggling see Arcila Farías, op. cit., (1973), Vol. I, pp. 185-206; also Federico Brito Figueroa, op. cit. (1973), pp. 104-109.
39. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Carta del Gobernador de la provincia de Cumaná al Rey," dated 11 Nov., 1600; AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Carta de Montes Colmenares al Rey sobre fortificación de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated 18 April, 1596.
40. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Cartas del Gobernador de la Provincia al Rey," dated July and Nov., 1600.
41. Ibid.
42. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Real Cédula de Aranjuez," dated 5 June, 1599.
43. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, fols. 15-16, "Carta del Procurador General de la ciudad," dated 14 Aug., 1599.
44. Ibid., fol. 16v.
45. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Carta de Monte Colmenares Escribano del Cabildo al Rey sobre fortificación de la ciudad," dated 1599.
46. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1586-1604, op. cit., Vol. II, Cedula 547, p. 274.
47. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Copias de cartas del Gobernador Suarez de Amaya al Rey," dated 1602 and 1604.
48. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1586-1604, op. cit., Vol. II, Cédula 559, pp. 280-282.
49. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Solicitud de los vecinos de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated 6 March, 1602.

50. Armar canoa did not only mean the twelve negros who made up each pearling canoe, but also a captain who was an expert pearler, and a canoero who was either a white or mestizo who fulfilled the role of pilot and mayordomo.
51. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Solicitud de los vecinos de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated 2 Feb., 1610.
52. These periods were those of the official closed season (veda).
53. AGI, Santo Domingo, "Solicitud de los vecinos de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated 2 Feb., 1610.
54. Ibid.; Antonio Vasquez de Espinoza, Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales (Washington, 1948), p. 47 says:

Los negros pescaban en la misma forma que lo hacían los indígenas. Vasquez de Espinoza relata que llevan una red pequeña o chinchorro que con un cabo queda atado a la canoa y andan debajo del agua, cogiendo las canoas y metiendo las conchas y metiendo en la dicha red or chinchorro.
55. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, fols. 27-28r, "Solicitudes de los vecinos de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated 4 Feb., 1610 and 1613.
56. Ibid.
57. In these arrivals the city officials were normally involved.
58. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, 1568-1604, op. cit., Vol. II, Cédula 567, p. 289.
59. Ibid., Cédula 249, p. 249.
60. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Visita del Obispo de Puerto Rico a la provincia de Cumaná," dated Sept., 1639-1640.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.

65. The source states that in both places Spaniards were to be found.
66. Here pueblos de españoles of Río Caribe and Carúpano were referred to.
67. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Información de la ciudad de Cumanagotos," dated 26 July, 1644.
68. Ibid.
69. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Don Diego Sandoval informa al Rey de la necesidad de remedios que tiene la ciudad de Cumaná, su provincia y la granjería de las perlas," dated 24 July, 1643.
70. Ibid.
71. It is noted that the solares and tierras of the community were all exempt from tribute.
72. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Don Diego Sandoval informa al Rey de la necesidad de remedios que tiene la ciudad de Cumaná, su provincia y la granjería de las perlas," dated 24 July, 1643.
73. Ibid.
74. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 628, "La ciudad de Cumaná solicita al Rey," dated Jan., 1660.
75. Ibid.
76. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 625, "El gobernador y el cabildo de la ciudad solicitan al Rey," dated 11 Nov., 1659.
77. AGI, Santo Domingo, "El gobernador de Cumaná informa al Rey sobre las hechos ocurridos," dated 23 July, 1669.
78. AGI, Santo Domingo, "El gobernador interino de Cumaná, Don Juan Bautista Utarte, informa al Rey," dated May, 1669.
79. Ibid.
80. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Informe del Gobernador Francisco Palacio Rada sobre el estado de la provincia y de la población y de la vecindad," dated 16 Aug., 1674.
81. Ibid.

82. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "La ciudad de Cumaná informa al Rey en la voz de su Procurador General," dated June, 1691.
83. The maize from which arepa was made was the Indian equivalent to the wheat from which the whites made bread. Cazabe was the bread made from manioc used by the Indians.
84. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "La ciudad de Cumaná informa al Rey en la voz de su Procurador General," dated June, 1691.
85. Ibid.
86. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 188, "Sumario General de las cuentas de la Real Hacienda de la ciudad de Cumaná," 1683-1684.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Expediente de los encomenderos, Santo Domingo," dated Sept., 1677. The residents swore that they had been forced to trade in slaves in fulfilment of their legal contracts. By 1677 they said that for more than three years they had suffered great shortages.
91. Ibid.
92. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 641, "Memorial de Fray Sebastian del Puerto Mohon," dated 1696.
93. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 639, "Informe del Visitador de la Provincia del Obispado de Puerto Rico," Barcelona, dated 2 July, 1717.
94. Ibid.
95. Pablo Vila, Geografía de Venezuela (Caracas, 1969), Vol. 2, p. 338.
96. Jorge Villalonga, "Descripción de la Provincia de Cumaná," dated 20 Nov., 1720, in Relaciones Geograficas de Venezuela, FHCV (Caracas, 1964), Vol. 70, p. 364.
97. Ibid.

98. Curaçao island is located some 75 kilometers from the Venezuelan coast.
99. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 636, "Expediente sobre la visita General de la provincia de Cumaná hecha por el Marquez de San Felipe y Santiago, Gobernador interino que fue de la provincia de Cumaná," dated 1736. This densely forested coastal zone was one in which many runaway Indians found refuge.
100. Ibid.
101. AGI, Caracas, Legajo 123, "Acta de erección de dies poblaciones misionales a doctrinas, hecha por el Obispo de Puerto Rico, Gobernador de Cumaná y misioneros Capuchinos," dated 9 Jan., 1713. This was the official removal of the settlements from the authority of the regular orders and their placement under the secular priests' control.
102. Buenaventura de Carrocera, Misión de los Capuchinos en Cumaná, FHCV (Caracas, 1968), Vol. 89, Vol. II, pp. 326-327.
103. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 157, "Autos de la Visita del Teniente Coronel Mateo Gual a la provincia de Cumaná," dated 1757; "Relación Histórica y Geográfica de Cumaná en tiempo del Gobernador Mateo Gual, 1757." This document was found in the Biblioteca del Ministerio de Marina, kindly facilitated by Nectario María.
104. Ibid.
105. ANHC, Vitrina I-103 (Colección, British Museum), "Observaciones hechas en el año 1758 y 1759 en la Provincia de Cumaná, sus costas, puertos, enseñas, bahías y valles, Cumaná," dated 14 Nov., 1759.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid. The important commerce in mules of the residents of Cumaná was done in uncovered boats.

113. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 201 & 202, "Autos de la Visita del Gobernador Jose Diguja y Villagomez," dated June-July 1761. A complete copy of this document exists in the Instituto de Investigaciones of the Fundación Boulton in Caracas.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid.
117. On one side of the fort had been established a town of Spanish with the families of officials from Araya. It was noted that the only source of water on that side of the settlement was the fort's aljibe.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. The occupation of the lowlands of the Guarapiche in the seventeenth century was continued in the eighteenth with the establishment of small settlements in the delta region. In the final decades of the eighteenth century the following missions were established: Uracoa, Tabasca, Areo, Barrancas, Guaratica, Simara and Cajosanica.
124. Ibid.
125. The city of Cumaná's links with traders in the province of Venezuela were maintained predominantly by way of coastal boat traffic.
126. BM, Add. Mss. 13-987, Document No. 16, "Estado en que se hallan marginales en el mapa de Juan Aparicio de la Gobernación de Cumaná, dibujado por Juan Aparicio en 1762." This accompanied the "Autos de la Visita que ha hecho Joseph Diguja Villagomez." It began in January, 1761, and was concluded on 4 July, 1761, in Cumaná, fols. 64-86.
127. Ibid.

128. Ibid.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.
131. Marco Aurelio Vila, "La Real Compañía de Comercio de Barcelona, en Venezuela (1752-1816)," Revista de Historia (Caracas, 1960), Vol. 5, pp. 3-54.
132. Ibid., p. 26. Frederick Raholo i Trimols, Comercio de Cataluña con América en el siglo XVIII (Barcelona, 1931), pp. 529-532, 614-619.
133. Federico Brito Figueroa, Historia económica y social de Venezuela (Caracas, 1971), Vol. I, pp. 107-109.
134. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 158, "Noticias particulares que han acaecido desde el año 1765 hasta el presente de 1773," AGI, Caracas, Leg. 158, "El gobernador Don Pedro Urrutía da cuenta en testimonio y un estado de la visita general de aquella provincia," dated 30 Sept., 1774; AGI, Caracas, Leg. 158, "Informe de la contaduría General sobre la visita del 1 de Octubre de 1776 y 17 Junio de 1778."
135. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 158. Estado llano was a term describing whites who did not have the status of nobleza. The Antioqueño term for the same group was blancos de segunda plano.
136. Ibid.
137. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 158, "Noticias particulares que han acaecido desde el año 1765 hasta el presente de 1773."
138. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 158, "El gobernador Don Pedro Urrutía da cuenta con testimonio y un estado de la Visita General de aquellas provincia," dated 30 Sept., 1774.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid. Here reference is to the Indian settlements.
141. The jornál was established by the Crown at the end of the seventeenth century; it was officially worth two reales (Cedula Real, 12 Dec., 1691). By the end of the eighteenth century an Indian in a mission required six pesos per month to cover the costs of his family.

142. AGNC, Intendencia, Vol. XVI, fols. 177-178r, "Razón que da Don Esteban Burguera al Señor Intendente general de estas Provincias, relativa al ramo de pesquería," dated 18 Aug., 1781.
143. AGNC, Intendencia, Vol. IV, "Sobre la tala de arboles en las inmediaciones del río Manzanares," dated 1775; AGNC, Gobernación y Capitanía General, fol. 40, "Copia de un Oficio del Gobernador y Capital General al Intendente de Venezuela," dated 9 Oct., 1775.
144. AGNC, Intendencia, Vol. XIII, fol. 331, "Oficio sobre el establecimiento del Alfalfí," dated 10 May, 1781.
145. Ibid.
146. AGNC, Intendencia, Vol. XIII, fol. 197, "Carta de los factores de la Compañía Real de Barcelona al Señor Intendente General de Ejercito y Real Hacienda," Cumaná, dated 15 June, 1781.
147. Eduardo Arcila Farías, Real Consulado de Caracas (Caracas, 1957), pp. 57-72.
148. AGI, Caracas, Vol. 82, "Noticias Particulares que han ocurrida desde el año 1765 hasta el año presente," dated 1773.
149. AGNC, Gastos Públicos, fol. 301, "Certificación de los Oficiales de Real Hacienda," Cumaná, dated Dec., 1785.
150. AGNC, Intendencia, Vol. XV, "Información de los Factores de la Real Compañía de Barcelona," Caracas, dated 20 Sept., 1781.
151. In Volume XIII of the Intendencia section is contained a wealth of documentation on the export of mules, cacao and hides to the foreign colonies, in order to import negros.
152. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 159, "Visita del Oidor Chaves Mendoza a la Provincia de Cumaná," Cumaná, dated 29 March, 1783. It may be noted here that the Registro Principal in Cumaná is in a very poor state of conservation. Work there is thus almost impossible.
153. Ibid.
154. Ibid., fol. 6.
155. Ibid., fol. 15.
156. Ibid., fol. 65r.

157. Ibid., fol. 6-12r.
158. Ibid., fol. 37.
159. Ibid., fol. 36.
160. Ibid., fol. 32.
161. Ibid.
162. Ibid.
163. Ibid. See Buenaventura de Carrocera, op. cit., pp. 508-510.
164. Ibid., fol. 6. In the chara of Don Miguel Maestre.
165. AGNC, Gastos Públicas, Vol. IV, "Ingresos de la Propios de la Ciudad de Cumaná," dated 16 Jan., 1786.
166. AGNC, Gobernación y Capitanía General, Vol. XXII, fol. 14, "Instrucción para el establecimiento del Estanco del Tobacco," dated 20 June, 1779.
167. Alejandro de Humboldt, Viaje a la region equinoctial del mundo, Caracas edition,
168. Ibid., p. 424.
169. Ibid., p. 397.
170. Ibid., pp. 22-24, 429.
171. Francisco Depons, Viajes a la parte Oriental de Tierra Firme en la América Meridional (Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1967), p. 282.
172. Ibid., p. 286.
173. J. Dauxion Lavaysee, Viaje a las islas de Trinidad, Tobago, Margarita y a las diversas partes de Venezuela en la América Meridional (Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1967), p. 197.
174. Ibid., p. 239.
175. Ibid., pp. 242-43.

CHAPTER XIII

POPULATION PATTERNS AND PROCESSES OF CHANGE

The port city of Cumaná, or Nueva Córdoba, was founded on the banks of the Río Cumaná by 30 citizens and a large group of reduced and converted Guaiquerí Indians, who were at the service of the band of Spaniards accompanying Fray Francisco Montesinos.¹ The small, solitary community on Tierra Firme was given the task of settling, pacifying, and Christianizing the natives who inhabited its vast eastern regions.

In later years, the city of Montesinos was reduced to a sparsely-populated village, whose governor was directly appointed by the Royal Court located in Santo Domingo. The neighboring Margariteños established an Indian slave trade along the coasts of this modest city region.²

Seven years after its founding, when Governor Fernandez de Serpa came to power, the squalid city had only 23 inhabitants, "scantily clad half-breed Christians."³ What Serpa found on his arrival was a settlement whose inhabitants occupied huts and lived in a most miserable and precarious manner. The threat imposed by surrounding belligerent Indians further limited the community's expansion.

The new governor quickly established a system of govern-

ment, made plans for the city's main plaza and streets, and the construction of 150 houses of straw and cane,⁴ to be built by the community's 40 residents. With the appointment of local leaders, a city vicar, priest for the settlement, and officials of the Royal Treasury, the government of the new community became institutionalized.

The urban population had to guarantee its supply of food provisions, hence, the availability of an Indian labor force became indispensable. The entire Indian population in the area 36 leagues west and 14 leagues inland was placed under the control of the citizens.⁵ In spite of this, the responsibility for the sustenance of the urban center's population was placed on the shoulders of the Guaikerí Indians from islands and coastal regions near Cumaná.

With the arrival of the first conquerors, negros were introduced to Cumaná. Governor Diego Fernandez de Serpa was granted permission to import 500 negros, duty-free, of which one-third were women. It can be readily documented that French and British slaveships had frequented the ports of the Caribbean area for quite some time.⁶ Some of these same vessels also traded a wide variety of merchandise with the nearby island of Margarita.⁷ The decrease in the number of Indians on the island made it necessary to use a slave labor force to build the community.

By the early 1570's, the population of Cumaná had been substantially reduced as a result of frequent Indian attacks.

After one such attack, in which the Governor and his soldiers were killed, Indians held the citizens of Cumaná hostage for several days until they were at last rescued, and helped to escape, by authorities from the neighboring island of Margarita. Despite the fact that only ten inhabitants remained in the small urban center after this attack, it was this tiny population which formed a nucleus on which the city continued to build.

For several years, Cumaná remained the only Spanish settlement throughout the vast province. In 1585, the municipal government appointed Nuñez de Lobo governor. His natural leadership was sorely needed by the Spanish community, which at the time found itself in a state of misery. The city was on the verge of desertion by inhabitants who blamed conditions on the inefficiency of past governors.⁸

Cumaná had approximately 24 inhabitants by 1588, and many of them were needy.⁹ Pearl-diving became a source of livelihood, with Indian labor often used for this most difficult task, predominantly on the island of Margarita. The city's livestock consisted of some 300 to 400 head of sheep and 100 goats.¹⁰

By 1590, the city had a population of about 30 citizens, only two of whom were prosperous enough to own the canoes that enabled them to participate in the pearling trade. The city existed in abject poverty and its residents suffered all types of hardship. A smallpox epidemic virtually

eliminated the Indian and slave populations, leaving the white urban dwellers to complain that they no longer had someone to bake their bread or prepare their corn-meal cakes. The small population was also terrified by the frequent presence of Flemish vessels heading for the salt mines of Araya, which lay on the other side of the Cariaco Gulf.

Foreign vessels which frequented those coasts contributed to the decline of trade and pearl-diving in the city by their obstruction of maritime traffic to and from the port. Not only did the foreign ships attack the smaller vessels that traded along provincial coasts, but they also tried to ransack and destroy the pearl-diving boats. When these attempts failed, the foreign ships blockaded incoming supplies of corn, cazabe and tools.

As if to further add to the misery of the impoverished urban population of Cumaná, specially-commissioned justices were appointed by the Spanish Crown, at exorbitant salaries. These judges then proceeded to impose long sentences on the citizens of Cumaná.¹¹

In the closing years of the sixteenth century, the state of indigence in Cumaná had reached such widespread proportions that the community petitioned the King for a special license to move the city to a location where they would not be subject to abuse and hardship. The city attorney informed the governor that continuous attacks by English

vessels had the citizens of Cumaná living under constant fear of ambush. Because of this, they had been unable to cultivate their land for five months. This terrible situation soon prompted the migration of several inhabitants away from the city, with many others threatening to follow.¹²

In the year 1600, the governor released the following statistics: there were a total of 51 houses in Cumaná; of these, nine or ten belonged to the clergy although actually inhabited by 50 laymen; the population included 30 unmarried women, an equal number of single men, and 150 young men and women who would reach a marrying age within a few years.¹³ The small urban center had only 37 men who were willing to bear arms, since many of the remaining men had abandoned the city when they found they could no longer support their haciendas.¹⁴ The leaders of Cumaná were also in charge of approximately 30 Indian laborers, who worked in groups of one to four persons.¹⁵

Two years later, the city's leaders stated that the negro slaves which had been brought to their settlement benefitted only a select few canoe-owners, who used them in their pearl-diving trade, and were of no value to the rest of the population. To alleviate the needs of the people of Cumaná, the Council of Indian Affairs allowed landowners to import 150 negro slaves to labor for periods of up to eight months.¹⁶

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indian population had been reduced drastically as a result of the

physical strain, pulmonary ailments, and shark attacks that were suffered in the course of pearl-diving. A population that suffered from malnutrition and lowered resistance was even more susceptible to the diseases introduced by the Europeans. A few years before the turn of the century, a smallpox epidemic reduced the Indian and slave populations to such an extent that the villagers complained of not having any available help for their domestic chores.

Cumaná's Guaiquerí Indian population was stimulated by the influx of Guaiqueríes who abandoned the island of Margarita because of the hardship suffered, and by the constant arrival of Indians from Guayana. In 1604, the Bishop of Puerto Rico disclosed that a great number of Indians had been brought from Guayana to Cumaná to be sold. The price of each Indian ranged from 50 to 70 pesos, but a great many of them died shortly after being removed from their natural habitats.¹⁷

At the close of the seventeenth century's first decade, a Royal Decree was issued which forbade the use of Indian labor in the pearl-diving trade. The purpose was to halt the diminution of the native aborigines. Cumaná's wealthier citizens, a group of 13 landowners, appealed to the King to revoke his decree, adding that the Indians were extremely poor people who did not know how to weave, and who roamed around naked, augmenting their allotted diets with their maize crops.¹⁸ The city leaders assured the King that the

decree would cause "the diminution and desertion of a city that had no source of revenue other than its pearl-diving industry."¹⁹ Pearls also served as a means of binding "communication and pacts," as they were used as negotiable currency. The prevailing atmosphere not only limited the city's physical growth, but also that of its population. The periodic overflow of the Río Manzanares created two large lagoons on either side of the city. When these dried out every summer, the resulting "putrefaction" caused a spread of disease as extensive as that which occurred in the "terrible and dangerous" year.²⁰ Governor Suarez de Amaya blamed the city's bad location for the "diminution, rather than growth, of the population" and once again called for the city's relocation to a site where it could expand.²¹

The site of the city, between the Río Manzanares and a small range of mountains, was a constant source of discontent for its inhabitants. At one point, the river overflowed and flooded part of the city, demolishing several houses and leaving others on the verge of collapse. Governor Suarez also pointed out that those left homeless were forced to live temporarily in others' houses, since the city lacked available land on which to build more.²²

The province's urban population was soon reduced, and became centered around a limited coastal area. Although the population was sparse in the capital, it was even lower in the dependent urban centers. In the year 1638, Juan Urpín

informed the King that the population of Cumaná now consisted of 30 citizens, in charge of Indians who were "pagans and still to be conquered." The town of Cumanagotos boasted a population of between 20 and 25, and San Felipe de Austria, between 10 and 12.²³ San Baltasar de los Arias, which had been recently founded in Palenque, in the Manzanares valley, had between seven and eight encomenderos who were citizens.²⁴ The fortress which was built at Araya in 1622 housed from 200 to 300 soldiers, and from 80 to 100 workers.

Cumaná's small privileged class consisted of administrative authorities and civic leaders, most of whom owned canoes or fishing boats, and had Indian laborers to work their land and cultivate the crops of cocoa, maize, tobacco, and sugar cane which grew in the valleys along the Cariaco gulf and the banks of the Manzanares. For a short time, there was also a community of merchants and traders, who, indirectly, were among those who prospered the most from the pearl industry. The Bishop of Puerto Rico stated that these merchants not only hurt the Royal Treasury, making in profits money that should have gone to the Crown, but also kept the canoe-owners from making profits by having first pick of the most exquisite pearls, often paying only one-tenth or one-twentieth of their real value.²⁵ Just before the mid-seventeenth century, the citizens informed the King that the pearl shortage had caused them to suffer undue hardships. The city was able to support itself only through its live-

stock.²⁶ The exploitation that characterized the pearl trade was nearing an end at a time when the city's Guaiquerí population barely reached 50.

In 1659, under the threat of an English invasion, the governor publicly stated that of 150 residents, 120 were ready to bear arms. He also emphasized that theirs was a poor community, composed mostly of laborers and country dwellers.²⁷ Although the population had increased, it was nonetheless doing so at a slow pace throughout the province. It seemed unlikely that this situation would improve, given the fact that

there was no neighboring government from which there could be any immigration, since the governments of Guayana, the islands of Margarita and Trinidad, and Venezuela would progress more if they had more people.²⁸

By the mid-seventeenth century, the defenseless city of Cumaná once again made an appeal for relocation. In 1659, the citizens insisted on it, and requested that, at the very least, they be given the necessary supplies to ensure the defense and preservation of their urban center.²⁹

Both city and province were geographically situated on the Caribbean Sea, the site of frequent battles among pirates for control of economic markets and access to the major seaway for Spanish ships. Because of its location, Cumana often found itself caught in the midst of these battles. In 1669, an attack by the English resulted in the deaths of four white citizens and two Indians. Once again, the city's

residents complained that they were mere defenseless victims, prey for the numerous enemy vessels that "contaminated" their coasts.³⁰ They also petitioned the King at this time, to give them the necessary aid to relieve the state of poverty in which the community found itself.³¹

In 1674, the city of Cumaná had only 34 estate owners, the rest of the population being poor and needy. There were several other urban centers throughout the province, all of which were controlled by the central administration at Cumaná. San Baltasar de las Arias, or Cumanacoa, lay twelve leagues inland, its 12 inhabitants living in destitute poverty; San Felipe de Austria, or Caricao, situated 14 leagues east of the capital, had a population of nine citizens of modest means.³²

Cumaná's wealthier citizens, its landowners, usually owned agricultural allotments along the coastal valleys of the Cariaco Gulf, which were tended to by an overseer and a staff of three or four field-hands. Others owned small vessels, known as chinchorros³³ which were used in the fishing trade. Enough fish was caught to meet the city's needs, as well as to be sold to Caracas and other cities.³⁴ The number of citizens under royal commissions was 34 in 1677--one year later, Fray Francisco Tauste estimated the capital's total population at 300.³⁵

One hundred years after the city's founding, its population barely exceeded a few hundred. Natural elements had

been a great source of hardship among Cumaná's early residents. In the 1680's, a violent earthquake shook the city.³⁶ The governor later disclosed that the tremors had ruined many of the area's buildings, making them potential hazards.³⁷ Two years after, a severe drought spoiled the city's corn crops, which constituted a basic part of the residents' diets. The price of corn rose from 12 reales to 50, and the necessary quantities were still unavailable.³⁸

The final decades of the seventeenth century were a time of misery and poverty for the urban residents, who often found themselves with the task of maintaining a constant vigil against enemy attacks on their ports. The population, at this time, was under 150--whereas 15 years earlier, it had been well over 250.³⁹

At the close of the seventeenth century the population consisted of scarcely 200 men,⁴⁰ whose main livelihood was agriculture. Hardships had not diminished, and many residents left Cumaná for the neighboring province of Venezuela.⁴¹ One of the citizens' main concerns was the guarding of their small merchant fleet, which lay virtually unprotected in the city's port. To meet this particular need, a company of 30 soldiers was organized, whose job it was to patrol the shores. Their presence was thought to serve as a stabilizing factor which would contribute to the city's growth; it also served to give the governor rapid notice in the case of enemy attack, allowing for a rapid mobiliza-

tion of troops to defend the city.⁴²

In 1695, the population fell victim to a measles epidemic, and once again to a smallpox epidemic in the following year. Governor Gaspar del Hoyo stated that the population had been nearly annihilated by the savage quality of the latest of these epidemics.⁴³ Even in the early years of the eighteenth century, the population of the capital city remained small. Then Viceroy Villalonga estimated the population to be approximately 300, distributed along the following racial lines: "Spaniards, mulatos, negros, zambos and mestizos."⁴⁴ Miscegenation proved to be one of the determining factors in the social changes experienced by that small urban population, and one of its most outstanding characteristics after the turn of the eighteenth century.

As noted by the Viceroy, the residents of Cumaná for the most part occupied the areas of agricultural land four leagues wide, on the Manzanares river delta.⁴⁵ The city's permanent residents were mostly soldiers, and belonged to one of the aforementioned racial categories.

The military garrison was made up of 125 men, who spent three days a week on guard duty. The governor's residence, Santa Maria de la Cabeza, maintained a regular staff of ten guards. The castle at San Antonio de la Eminencia, located atop a hill at the city's edge, had 12 guards, with an additional four in its redoubt. San Catalina fort, located along the left bank of the Manzanares, boasted a guard

of 40 soldiers.⁴⁶ Some other positions established by the Royal Court at Santo Domingo included those of Accountant and Treasurer, employees of the Royal Treasury, and Guard (Guarda Mayor) who, in addition to a monthly salary of 12 ducats, received a part of the dues from embarcations to and from the port.

According to Viceroy Villalonga's demographic calculations, the population of Cumaná's two neighboring Guaiquerí villages of Ostias (or Nuestra Señora del Socorro) and Nuestra Señora de las Gracias, did not exceed a total of 50 Indians.⁴⁷

One hundred and twenty-five men inhabited the fortress at Araya. Credit which enabled them to purchase food and provisions was extended by the governor until the men began to receive regular salaries.⁴⁸ Supplies of maize, either harvested or purchased from the city's farmers at seven reales, were maintained by the governor.⁴⁹

In the middle of the sixteenth century, in the northern coastal valleys of the Paría peninsula and Tierra Firme, Indian, negro and mulato field hands, along with the wealthier agricultural merchants that traded with Margarita, constructed a series of houses.⁵⁰ By 1720 the total number of inhabitants of the coastal villages of Río Caribe, Puerto Santo, Maracapana and Carúpana was between 40 and 50.⁵¹

Within the province's boundaries lay the city of San Felipe de Austria (Cariaco) whose population of between 50

and 60 included members of all the previously mentioned racial groups. Nine towns with Indians under their jurisdiction were given 350 natives who were paid at the rate of two pesos annually.

Mariquitar, an Indian village located between the gulf's cocoa plantations, had 35 Indians among its taxpayers to the Royal Crown. The village of San Juan, 14 leagues from the capital, had a similar population, which paid an identical annual tax of six pesos and four reales per head.⁵² The city of San Baltasar de los Arias (Cumanacoa) had 50 citizens of different castes, and was ruled by Cumaná's central government. The four Indian villages in the areas surrounding Cumaná had a combined population of 200 citizens, each of whom paid two pesos annually in taxes. In addition to these, six additional mission villages were founded by Capuchin friars from Aragon.⁵³

By 1730, Cumaná's population had reached 3450, with Altagracia's inhabitants totalling 140 and Nuestra Señora del Socorro, 115. The predominantly Spanish village of Río Caribe had an estimated 239 inhabitants, and Carúpano, 100.⁵⁴ For the townships of Altagracia and Socorro the Guariquerí populations have been calculated at 140 and 115 Indians respectively. After a visit to the province in 1741, Governor Sucre reported the following population figures: of the 4063 residents in Cumaná, some 2648 (65%) were registered as "de comunión" (i.e. over the age of 14),

another 673 were between seven and 14 and 942 were classed as parbulos (under the age of seven).

The population of Altagracia was estimated at 532; and of the Spanish villages in Tierra Firme, San Miguel del Río Caribe had 518 inhabitants, Santa Rosa de Carúpano, 636. The village of Araya, situated on the western coast of the Araya peninsula, listed 679 residents.⁵⁵

By 1757, the province of Cumaná comprised the capital city, Santa Inés de Cumaná, the villages of Nuestra Señora de Altagracia and Nuestra Señora del Socorro, and the village adjacent to the fortress at Araya. In addition, it included the towns of San Felipe de Austria and San Baltasar de los Arias, and the villages of San Miguel del Río Caribe and Santa Rosa de la Costa (Carúpano), which were located in Tierra Firme and were ruled by a Lieutenant Governor.⁵⁶

At this time, the capital city's population had reached 3604 inhabitants, subdivided into 479 family units occupying 347 houses. The adult population, those over 18 years of age, made up 34% of the total population, with minors accounting for 44%. The city's slave population of 788 blacks represented 22% of the total figure.⁵⁷ The town of Altagracia had 695 Indians in 148 families. Twenty-nine percent were adult males, 24% were adult females (older than 18) and 45% were children of both sexes. The village of Nuestra Señora del Socorro had 146 inhabitants in 34 family units, of which 29% were adults and 51% children.⁵⁸ The

village adjacent to the Araya fortress had 42 residents, nine of them slaves, forming 15 family units and occupying 11 houses.

The decree issued by Governor Matheo Gual revealed the existence of a privileged class among the urban population, whose numbers were referred to by the title of "Don." This group was made up exclusively of Spaniards and their white descendants. The "Dons" comprised 12% of the population; the remainder of the non-slave population represented 65% of the total.⁵⁹

The adult slave population consisted of 417 negros, of which 92% belonged to Spaniards or their descendants. The remaining 8% belonged to the common citizens. Slaves under the age of 18 numbered 204, of which 74% belonged to the "Dons" and 26% to common folk.⁶⁰ The remaining 167 slaves were listed without any specification of their ownership.

Urban residents owned land, crops, and houses in the city.⁶¹ A small minority also owned farms and livestock in the plains. The landowners' properties were situated along the gulf valleys of the Bordones river valley, to the west of the city; and from the Manzanares delta (at Charas and Ipures) upstream to the Cumanacoa valley.⁶² Cocoa and sugar cane were cultivated on irrigated and fertile farmland.

Sugar mills were also located in this region. The local councillors, second lieutenant and alderman owned a significant amount of the area's cocoa trees and sugar cane and

mills. Small sea vessels--"chinchorros," "piraguas," and "lanchas"--made up the remainder of the community's valuable possessions.

Cumaná's defense was composed of two companies of militia each of white and mulato soldiers in the villages of San Francisco and Chiclana, and an additional company of negros. A total of 660 men were prepared to bear arms at any given time. In the villages of Altagracia and Socorro, there were two Indian companies, with 162 and 31 members, respectively.⁶³

An edict issued following the Governor's perambulation in 1757 documented the existence of 13 separate Indian settlements, each ruled by a Spanish magistrate (corregidor) appointed by the Crown.

Observations in the period 1758-1759 indicated widespread illicit trading with the Dutch, Danish and French throughout the province, in which all social classes were involved. The source indicates that the entire urban population of Cumaná engaged in this type of commercial enterprise. On one occasion, 20 vessels from Cumaná were used to transport rum from the neighboring island of Granada, in exchange for quantities of cocoa, animal hides, cured fish, oil, and tobacco. Trading within the community was so great that

each house was a store, with fine English linens in all widths, ponchos, exquisite batiste, striped arabian linen of all kinds, Silesian linen, cloth for capes, hats, knives, all of which were imported on the city's public barges; black and mulato women sell their wares on the streets, and the Royal ministers ignore it: they think nothing of publicly stating that so-and-so is

in Granada, so-and-so is in Curaçao (foreign colonies) and so-and-so is in Saint Thomas.⁶⁴

In 1761, Governor Don Joseph Diguja Villa-Gomez paid an important visit to the central government of Cumaná, which at this time comprised the province of Cumaná, Nueva Barcelona, and Guayana. The city of Santa Ines de Cumaná served as capital city as well as home of the highest leaders, both secular and spiritual.

The region which the governor visited included the entire province of Cumaná.⁶⁵ In 1761, of the six Spanish settlements in the province, the city of Cumaná was the most important, for it served as capital not only of Cumaná Province, but of the neighboring province of Nueva Andalucía as well.⁶⁶ The other Spanish settlements in the province were San Felipe de Austria or Cariaco, the city of San Baltasar de los Arias or Cumanacoa, and the villages of Río Caribe, Carúpano, and Araya.

The 36 existing Indian populations were divided into seven doctrinas, 13 mission villages under Capuchin monks from Aragon, and 16 secular villages, of which two were composed of Guaiquerías. The doctrinas were ruled by a Royal Magistrate (corregidor), a figure who was often blamed by the residents for the squalid living conditions in those rural areas.⁶⁷ Governor Diguja established political/administrative boundaries within the provinces of Cumaná and Nueva Barcelona.⁶⁸ Within the established boundaries of the city

of San Baltasar de los Arias were the villages of San Fernando and Arenas, and the following secular villages: San Antonio, San Lorenzo, San Francisco, and San Felix, the villages run by Capuchin friars; and, lastly, the villages of Guanaguana, Caripe, Guacayuta, Caicara, Punceres, and Teresén, mission villages also run by the Capuchins. The Río Guarapiche and all roads leading to it fell under the jurisdiction of Cumanacoa.⁶⁹

The "teniente" of the Cariaco Gulf was given jurisdiction over the area from the Gurintar valley to Cunaguaca.⁷⁰ The tax-paying Indian village of Mariquitar was included within these boundaries.

The city of San Felipe de Austria was granted jurisdiction over the Cariaco valley. Included in its jurisdiction were the western Indian villages of Catuaro, Santa Cruz, Cocuisas, San Juan de Cotua, Santa Ana, Santa María de los Ángeles, and several Capuchin mission villages. In the eastern sector were the Indian villages of Casanay and Guai-panaquar. Along the northern coast, the urban center's boundaries included the ports of Esmeralda, Saucedo, and Punta Chacopata.⁷¹

The census of 1761 gave Cumaná's population as 4372;⁷² of that number, 3791 made up some 774 family units that occupied the urban centers' 432 houses. Of the total population, 119 men were active in the militia, in the ranks of both officer and soldier. The number of military men

amounted to 326.⁷³

The census of 1761 was only specific as to class differences among the population by the rise of the distinctive title of "Don" and "Doña," used for members of the "clase noble." A total of 596 persons were given the title "Don" or "Dona," representing 14% of the urban population. Two thousand, eight hundred and thirty-nine residents, representing 65% of the population, did not receive this distinction.⁷⁴

The military was comprised of 121 men, officials and soldiers, stationed in the castles and fortresses at San Antonio de la Eminencia and Santa María de la Cabeza. In addition, the city had seven supplementary civilian defense troops, organized by the city's men. The oldest company in the area, made up of white men from the village of San Francisco, had seven officers and 115 active soldiers.⁷⁵ The second oldest company had been founded by whites in the village of Chiclana, and consisted of six officers and 148 soldiers. The third oldest company (a cavalry force) had four officers and 29 soldiers. Free negro volunteers made up the fourth troop, whose 47 members included men of both ranks. Free blacks once had formed another troop, a volunteer company in the village of Chiclana which boasted five officers and 195 soldiers. A sixth company included free negros from the village of San Francisco, totalling of 146 soldiers.⁷⁶ A seventh company, made up of negro slaves, included

93 soldiers and six officers. Cumaná's coastal setting created an urgent need, not only for military fortresses, but also for an easily mobilized militia capable of warding off enemy attacks..

Twenty religiosos ... occupied the city's convents; nine living in the convent of Santo Domingo, with the remaining eleven at the convent of San Francisco. Two rectors and a chief sexton presided over religious services in the parish of Nuestra Señora de la Purificación. In addition, the community had another eight unassigned priests, a deacon, and 15 to 20 young men preparing to receive their Holy Orders.⁷⁷

Regional, local, and district government posts were occupied by high status whites. In the final 50 years of colonialism, the following families dominated the city's power: Marquez Valenzuela, Guerra de la Vega, Alcala, López de Brito, Maíz, García de Urbaneja, and a few others. An Official Treasurer and Accountant served as administrators of the Royal Treasury.

Cumaná's landowners held properties along the hot, humid coastal valleys which extended from Santa Fe, on the Manzanares' western bank, to the northern coast of the Paría peninsula, along the gulf coast to the Cariaco valley, and from Charas and Ipure, on the banks of the Manzanares, to the Cumanacoa valley.⁷⁸ Sugar cane and cocoa were the major crops in Cumaná's 57 plantations. "Melado," a type of

syrup, was made from sugar cane; maize, cocoa, plantains, and manioc were also cultivated on these farms, as were coconut trees, one of the main products of the important illegal trade.

Landowners in Cumaná were instructed to "live within modest means"; the rest of the population, lacking in financial resources, lived in "inexplicable" poverty. Some landowners had their farms in neighboring villages and cities.⁷⁹ The African slave population consisted of 937 persons, of whom half were men and half women. Sixty-seven percent of the slaves belonged to the privileged class ("Dons") while another 27% served the remaining urban population. Five percent of the slave population worked for the military.⁸⁰ For the most part, the slaves worked as domestics.

The Spanish communities had a combined population of 9661 residents from all social classes (Table 25). Forty-five percent of that total was concentrated in Cumaná; 14% in San Felipe de Austria or Cariaco; 8% in Cumanacoa; 10% and 11%, respectively, in the villages of Carúpano and Río Caribe; and 11% in Araya.⁸¹

One thousand, two hundred and nineteen persons, representing 13% of the population, formed the slave population in the six Spanish settlements of Cumaná province. Seventy-seven percent were concentrated in the capital city, while the remaining 23% were scattered throughout the other five settlements.

Table 25. Population of Spanish settlements in
Cumaná Province, 1761

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Blancos</u>	<u>Libres de Varios Colores</u>	<u>Esclavos</u>
Cumaná	4372	596	2839	937
San Baltasar de los Arias	795	118	617	60
San Felipe de Austria	1397	264	1026	107
Río Caribe	928	87	816	25
Carúpano	1077	132	926	19
Araya	1092	246	775	71
Total	9661	1443	6999	1219

Source: AGI, Caracas, Leg. 201, dated 1761.

In 1761, the Guaiquerí population in Cumaná consisted of 858 Indians. The village of Nuestra Señora de Altagracia had 713 Indian inhabitants, forming 169 families in 91 houses. A smaller village, Nuestra Señora del Socorro, was home to 145 Indian natives, grouped into 34 families and occupying 18 thatch-roof houses.

The distribution of the population in 1761 can be seen in Figure 22. The most striking feature is the Indian populated hinterland surrounding the coastal enclaves of white population. Of the total of 19,279 persons almost 50% were Indians. The pueblos de misiones accounted for 28% of the Indian total, the remainder being in doctrinas.⁸²

The Cariaco Gulf valleys housed a community of small

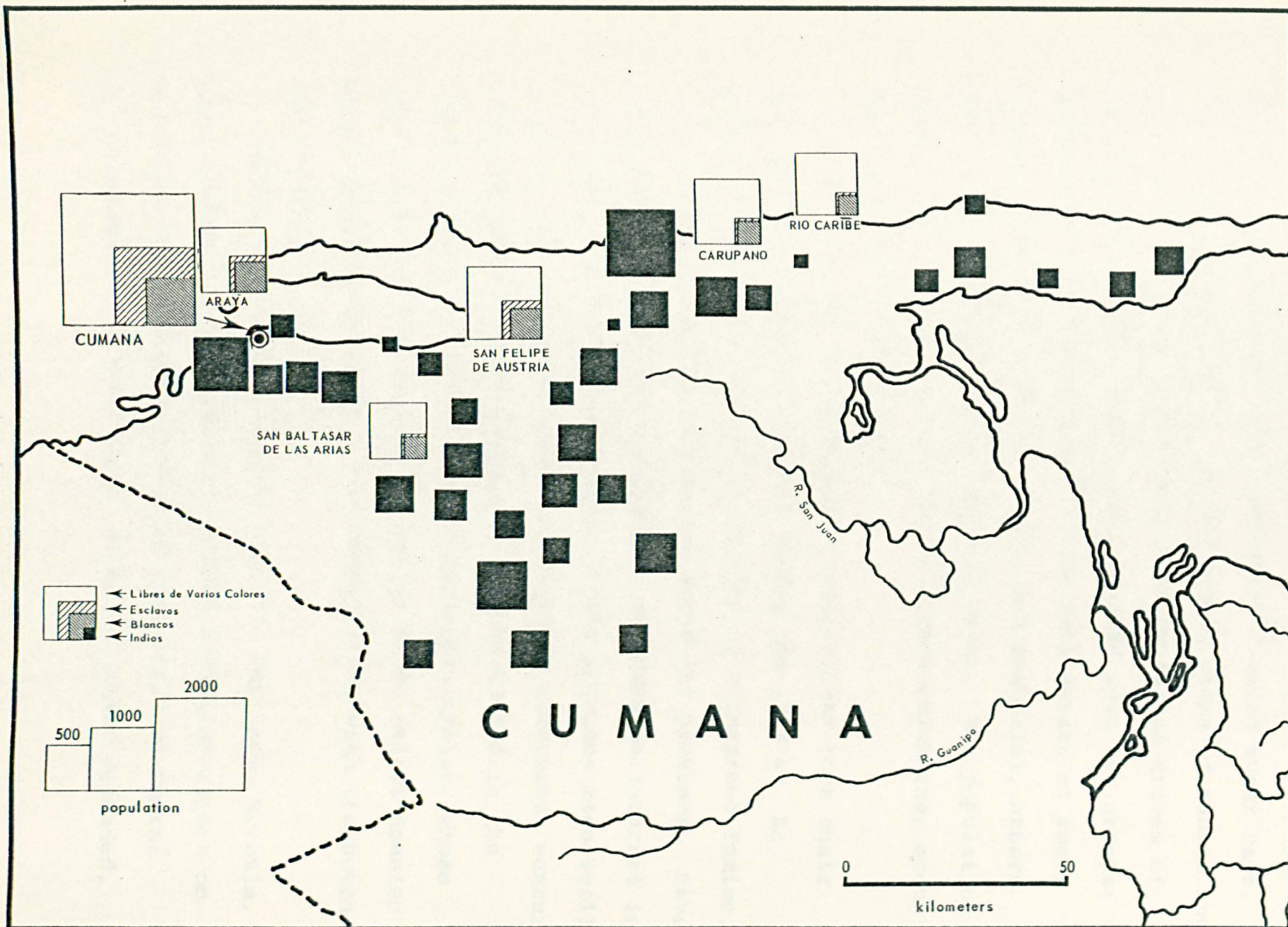


Figure 22. Distribution of population in Cumaná Province, 1761.

Source: AGI, Caracas, Leg. 201 & 202, 1765.

farmers and fishermen. These citizens, who bore the social distinction of being "free Spaniards"⁸³ owned sugar cane, cocoa, or plantain farms, or grew small crops of manioc and plantains. Some of these farms also contained groves of coconut trees. The farmers were divided into two groups: landowners and farmworkers.⁸⁴ Some were owners of small sea-going vessels (barges, canoes, and rowboats), others owned farm animals such as hogs and mares. The population in the Gulf valley was 137; the 24 houses which they occupied were thatch-roofed mud huts.

Both internal and external natural events took their toll on the Cumaná settlements during the 1760's. An extended drought in mid-1765 resulted in widespread famine, and in 1766, a violent earthquake shook the province. Seven years after that tragic earthquake, the damages incurred in both urban and rural settlements in the province were still visible. In the first years of the early nineteenth century, a French traveller described the city of Cumaná in the 1760's as being: "nothing but a miserable hamlet, whose ports were visited annually by two or three select Spanish ships which specialized in contraband trade with the Dutch and British."⁸⁵

Twelve years after Diguja, in 1773, Don Pedro Urrutía, then governor of the province, issued a similar report on the state of the region, which by now comprised Cumaná province and Nueva Barcelona. These two areas depended,

politically and militarily, on the government headed by the Viceroy in distant Nueva Granada.

Cumaná province contained five separate Spanish communities, whose residents represented all racial denominations. As indicated in parish registers of the period, the urban settlement served as population mixing centers, which extended the steady process of miscegenation prevalent since the mid-seventeenth century. Although limited, the early birth and marriage records kept by the parish of Nuestra Señora de la Purificación (later known as Santa Inés) indicate the intensity of ethnic mixing among Spaniards, negros, and Indians in that urban settlement. Of 329 recorded marriages that took place from 1749 to 1800, 10% involved the intermarriage of a Spaniard with either a free negro or a mestizo. Of the Spaniards who entered into these marriages, one was Catalan, four were Viscayan, four were from the Canary Islands, three were from Navarra, and the remainder from throughout the Iberian peninsula.⁸⁶ Baptismal registers recorded christenings of all newly-imported adult slaves in the city, as well as those of nearby negroid settlements. According to those church registers, the major majority of negros in the province were natives of Guinea and the Congo.⁸⁷

Figures compiled by Governor Urrutía indicated a total population of 8555, representing all castes, in Cumaná's five Spanish settlements. The city of Cumaná housed 46% of this

total, followed by San Felipe de Austria with 22%, the village of Carúpano with 19%, Cumanacoa with 11%, and Río Caribe with 2%. The demolition of the fortress at Araya in 1762 marked the end of the settlement which surrounded it. The residents of Araya eventually became incorporated into the population of the city of Cumaná.⁸⁸

In 1773, the Guaiquerí settlement in Altagracia was relocated from its original coastal site to the west bank of the Manzanares, thus nearer to the city. The Indian population was linked to the rest of the city by means of a bridge which ran across the Manzanares.⁸⁹ The new settlement became known as Cruz del Perdón, and was soon recognized as a further addition to the city.⁹⁰ Unlike the rest of the Indian populations throughout the province, the numbers of this latest settlement began construction of Spanish-style tile-roofed houses.⁹¹

The governor's calculations of the population of the Guaiquerías in Altagracia indicated 294 inhabitants, forming 100 families. Nuestra Señora del Socorro had an Indian population of 100, with 20 family groups. The remaining 30 Indian settlements were made up of 15 doctrinas, 15 Capuchin missionary towns, and eight secular settlements. The Capuchin friars had succeeded in reducing and maintaining an Indian population of 12,378, comprising 2829 families.⁹²

Despite references to the benevolent relations existing between the "noble class" and the "humble class," there is

no real indication of any rigorous racial division among the different classes in Governor Urrutía's report on the state of the province.

Ten corregimientos, formed by 17 doctrinal villages, had been founded in Cumaná Province by 1777. These districts were established according to the number of taxpayers in each.⁹³ The city of San Felipe had four Indian districts under its jurisdiction, as did the city of San Baltasar de los Arias; Río Caribe village had only one.⁹⁴ The Bishop of Puerto Rico paid a visit to Cumaná Province in the year 1773, accompanied by his secretary, Fray Iñigo Abbad. Fray Iñigo made many interesting observations during his visit. He estimated the population in the city of Cumaná to 5409, in 794 family groups, an average of 6.8 persons per family. This figure included a slave population of 826.⁹⁵ Fray Inigo felt that it was essential to maintain the growth of this group, since no additional slaves had been brought into the country since the days of the pearl trade.⁹⁶

Fray Iñigo observed that while the Spaniards specialized in agriculture, the Indians were more likely to become involved in maritime activities. He described Cumaná's Spaniards as being ingenious, and bold gamblers. He also observed that there were families in Cumaná who were distinguished by their nobility and riches and who displayed themselves publicly with "more ostentation and demeanor than is usually found in these countries."⁹⁷ In reference to the

Indians of Altagracia and Socorro, Fray Iñigo added:

Other Indians must provide their cities with supplies of fish and provisions because white Spaniards disdain work, but consider hunger unbecoming.⁹⁸

Although no reference to illegal trade was ever made by Governor Urrutía, Fray Iñigo was quick to note this was a common activity among the Spaniards. The Spaniards, he said, were in the habit of

embarking on fishing expeditions or sea voyages with smugglers, risking their freedom and their lives for the lucre that the smugglers would give them. They did this because they considered it ignorant to work the land, and it would be much more ignorant to earn a living through manual labor. They were convinced that any type of work, unless it pertained to trade or to the sea, was beneath their dignity and only good for colored people.⁹⁹

Fray Iñigo saw this as being one of the main reasons for the province's economic underdevelopment. He noted that the urban community of 5409 had only 72 cocoa farms, and livestock totalling 3012 head of cattle and 297 horses.¹⁰⁰

Fray Inigo estimated the Guaiquerí population of Altagracia at 701, subdivided into 160 families (4.3 per family unit). The Indians in this village became expert fishermen; since they owned no land and they were unable to learn other means of support. Fray Iñigo was certain that many Indians did seasonal work in nearby Araya and on the island of Cubagua, cities which had established fishing industries. Governor Urrutía soon confirmed the existence of such a trade in Araya, where pollock and skate were fished and salted and

sent to Spain.¹⁰¹

Fray Iñigo's data can be mapped (Figure 23) to demonstrate the growth in total population in the province since 1761. A surprising feature is the presence of negro slaves in many of the Indian villages, as well as in the Spanish towns.

As an important ecclesiastical center, the city boasted two rectors in addition to the 16 religious persons living in the city's two convents. Ten religiosos occupied the convent at San Francisco, and six in Santo Domingo. The Indian communities had 10 Capuchin priests whose role it was to teach Christian doctrine, and another 15 (of the same order) as missionaries. There was a total of 73 secular clerics throughout the province.

In 1773, the capital city's army consisted of 135 men of mixed races ready to bear arms to defend their city and its coasts, with an additional troop of 150 salaried soldiers stationed at Cumaná's fortress. After the demolition of the main fortress at Araya, the remaining 77 fortress soldiers were incorporated into the city. In addition, the city maintained a volunteer infantry and cavalry unit, staffed by 135 negros and whites. The urban militia, then, had a combined total of 891; of those, 44 were officers, 21 were corporals, and the remaining 826 privates. The city's male population was thus very much involved in the inevitable military function.¹⁰²

In the 1770's the province underwent significant geo-

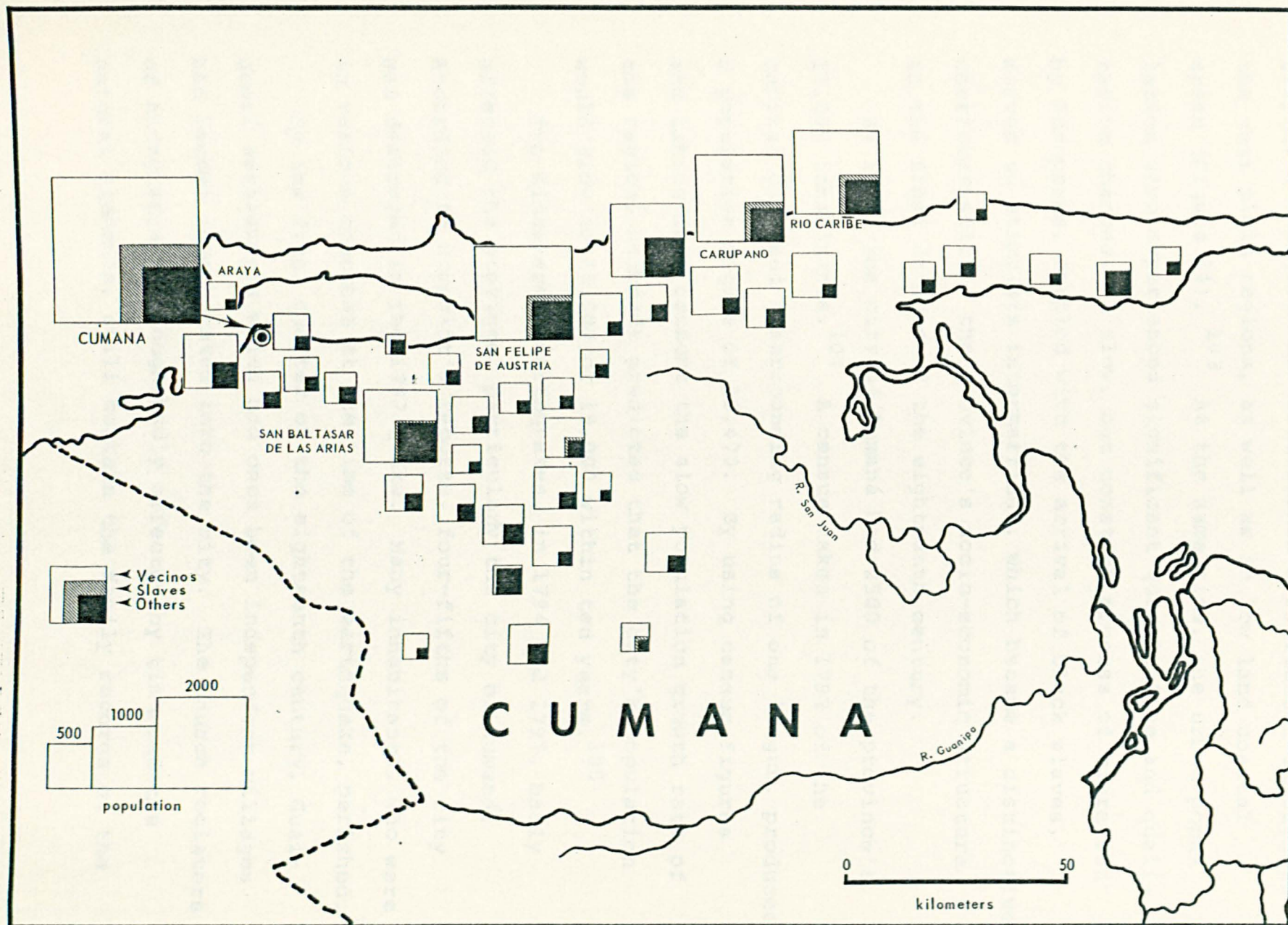


Figure 23. Distribution of population in Cumana Province, 1773.

Source: AANHC, Archivador 2, Gaveta 2, Carpeta 11.

graphical changes. New settlements were founded throughout the vast plain regions, as well as in low land coastal areas (Figure 24).¹⁰³ At the same time, the urban population also experienced significant quantitative and qualitative changes. A slow, but constant process of migration by Europeans, coupled with the arrival of black slaves, served to stimulate intermarriage, which became a distinctive characteristic of the province's socio-economic structure in the final decades of the eighteenth century.

By 1790, the city of Cumaná had 2500 of the province's 11,000 inhabitants.¹⁰⁴ A census taken in 1792 of the capital city and a surrounding radius of one league, produced a population figure of 10,470. By using census figures and taking into account the slow population growth rate of the region, Humboldt predicted that the city's population would grow to 18,000 or 19,000 within ten years.¹⁰⁵

Two disastrous earthquakes, in 1794 and 1797, badly affected the province, particularly the city of Cumaná. According to Humboldt's reports, four-fifths of the city was destroyed in the 1797 quake. Many inhabitants, who were in various churches at the time of the earthquake, perished.¹⁰⁶

By the final quarter of the eighteenth century, Guaiquerí settlements which had once been independent villages had become incorporated into the city. The church registers of Altagracia, although badly affected by time and the natural elements, still contain the family records of the

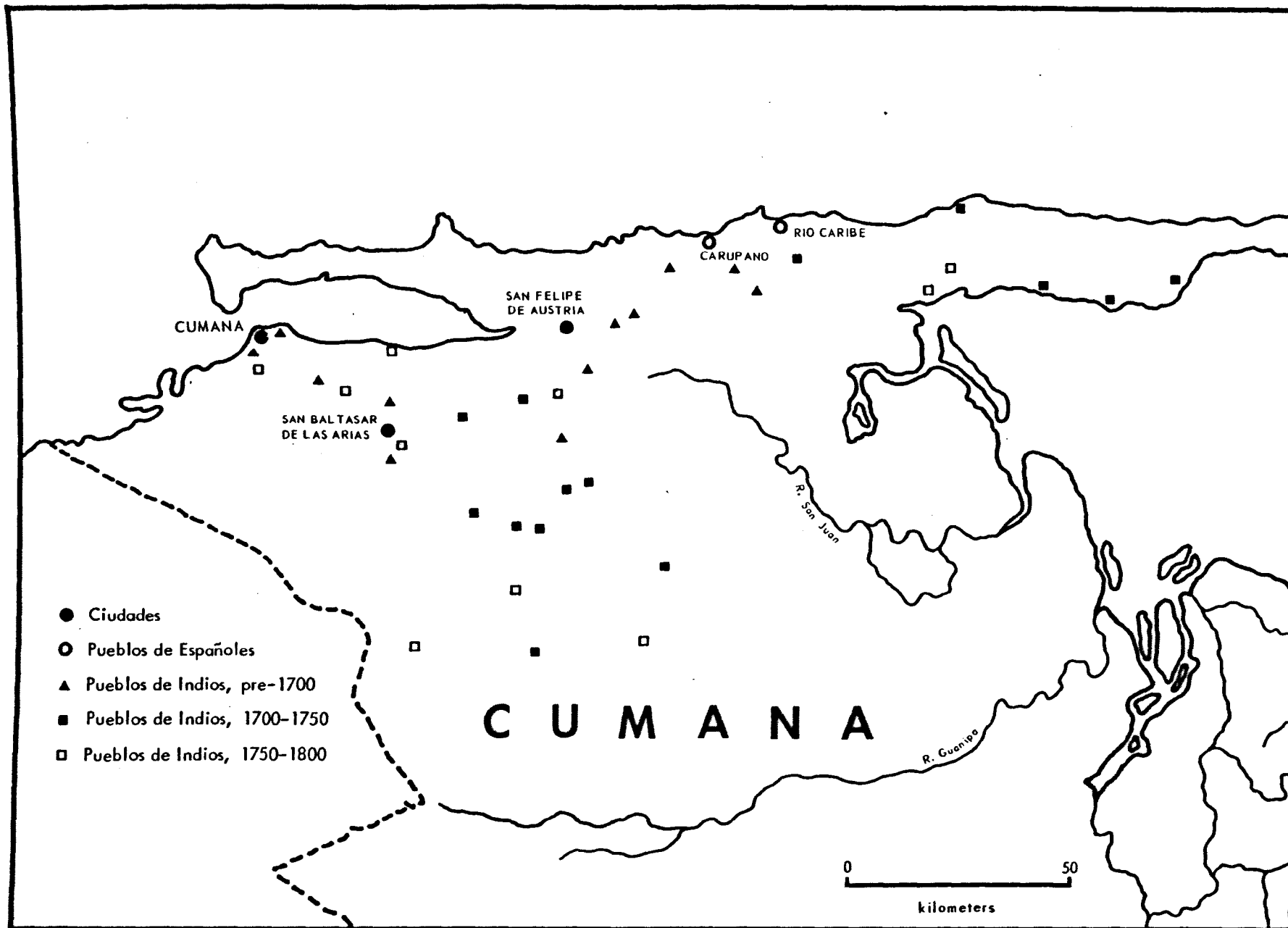


Figure 24. Foundation of settlements in Cumana Province

Spanish and Indian settlers. One of the deteriorating volumes lists the burials which took place in the year 1805. Eighty-one Spaniards were interred that year, 33 of them children, representing 41% of the total. Among the deceased adults, there were several who had been the victims of leprosy and smallpox. The second volume of the Indian baptismal register provided the following statistics: in 1680, ten children were baptized at birth; in 1740, 11 newborns were baptized, many of them on the eighth day following the birth; and in 1750, and 1780, 29 and 32 children, respectively, were entered into the records.¹⁰⁷

According to Humboldt, the city's outskirts were as populated as its center.¹⁰⁸ The towns which had grown up along the city's outlying areas were Los Cerritos (or Nuestra Señora del Socorro) near Playa Chica; San Francisco, to the southwest; and the Indian community of Altagracia, the most densely populated of all, on the west bank of the Río Manzanares.¹⁰⁹

The noted geographer and naturalist Humboldt obtained the following statistics from parish registers for the year 1798: 237 births occurred that year in Santa Inés, compared with 57 in the Castro district; 209 in the Guaiquerí settlement at Altagracia, and 19 in Los Cerritos. A total of 522 births were recorded in the city of Cumaná for that year. Humboldt was surprised by the high birth rate among the

Indian communities, which confirmed the existing theory that Indian marriages were extraordinarily fruitful. Based on a figure of 520 to 600 annual births, Humboldt predicted the population of Cumaná in 1800 to be 16,800.¹¹⁰

An analysis of the marriage records from 1745 to 1800 indicated the following patterns among the white population: of the 452 marriages performed, 133 involved couples who were both natives of Cumaná Province, nearby Caracas, or Margarita. Of the remaining 319, at least one of the spouses was a foreigner--whether European, Caribbean, or from a neighboring foreign colony.¹¹¹

In the early nineteenth century, the French traveller Depons estimated the population of Cumaná city to be 24,000. The population, he claimed, had quadrupled in the course of the last 50 years, and continued to multiply at such a rate that "the city could no longer accomodate the necessary new housing," and was therefore compelled to start construction on the left bank of the Manzanares, just west of the Guaiquerí village.¹¹² Depons assures us that the area was predominantly white/creole; Spanish merchants from Cataluña, Viscaya and the Canary Islands represented only a minority of the population, and were looked upon as "hawkers and peddlers."¹¹³ Marriage records of whites in the period from 1745 to 1800 show little discrepancy in the figures relating to Catalans, Basques, and Canary Islanders.¹¹⁴

The Cumaná settlers learned various industrial trades

from the Catalans residing in the city. According to Dauxion Lavaisse, by 1807, the Cumanese had established a small but thriving industry by cultivating local products such as coconut and sisal.¹¹⁵

Towards the end of the colonial period, the changing economic policies of the Crown combined with the personal goals of the new Governor to give great momentum to fishing and agriculture industries. The location of these industrial centers heavily influenced the demographic changes which would occur throughout the province.

In 1807, Lavaisse estimated 28,000 inhabitants for the capital city, and went on to predict a population of 30,000 by 1810. The noted French exile observed that the population had more than doubled in only 20 years; the country's wealth increased even more considerably. San Felipe de Baltasar had a population of 7000 inhabitants, Cumanacoa some 5000, and the two towns of Carupano and Rio Caribe 8000 and 4500 respectively. Lavaisse described the Cumanese he had met as being

knowledgeable in economics and industry. They have a certain propensity for business. Some have specialized in manual trades, while others became involved directly in commerce. Navigation was also a popular industry in the community. Extensive trading with neighboring colonies soon had the result of transforming small financial investments into large capital gains . . . Even the poor participated in the trade, exchanging corn cakes and eggs for fish.¹¹⁶

ENDNOTES

1. It should be noted that it is only after the foundation of the settlement by Montesinos that it is considered "urban."
2. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 71, "Carta de la Real Audiencia de Santo Domingo al Rey," dated 14 May, 1567.
3. Lope de las Varillas, "De la conquista y población de Nueva Córdoba," 1569, in Relaciones Geográficas de Venezuela, FHCV (Caracas, 1964), Vol. 70, p. 66.
4. Ibid. In note 1, page 60 in Antonio Arellano Moreno's introduction to the relación he notes that Fernandez de Serpa was the true founder.
5. Cedularios de Nueva Andalucía y Caracas, Tomo II, 1586-1604, Ediciones de la Fundación Boulton, Eugenio Mendoza y Fundación Shell (Caracas, 1967), Cédula No. 311, clausula XV, p. 5. Several preferences were given to Governor Serpa such as various land grants, one of which was for

merced de 25 leguas un quadra poblada de indios
 en una parte o dos de dicha provincia . . .
 para vos y vuestros herederos y sucesores
 perpetuamente . . . sin que en las dichas
 veinte cinco leguas en quadra tengais juris-
 dicción alguna ni en las minas de ellas porque
 esto a de quedar reservado para nos.
6. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, fol. 14, "Solicitud del cabildo en voz de su Procurador Francisco López de Uquillas," dated 4 Feb., 1614.
7. Ibid.
8. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, Leg. 1010A, "Rodriguez Nuñez de Lobo sobre que se le haga merced de que se le confiara el titulo de gobernador," dated 10 Jan., 1586.
9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.
11. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Resumen de una carta del cabildo secular de la ciudad de Cumaná, recibida por mano de su Procurador General," dated 22 June, 1690; AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Carta del Gobernador Gaspar del Hoyo al Rey," dated 10 July, 1692.
12. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Información al Rey dado por el Procurador General de la ciudad de Cumaná, sobre que se le haga mercede de ciertas cosas contenidas en su relación. Presentación del Procurador de la ciudad como testigo y vecino de la ciudad en la probanza de los vecinos," dated 2 Feb., 1614.
13. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Copia de carta del gobernador Suarez Amaya al Rey," dated 22 May, 1604.
14. Ibid.
15. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Carta del Gobernador de la Provincia de Cumaná al Rey sobre la riqueza de Araya," dated June, 1600; Pablo Ojer, Las Salinas del Oriente Venezolano en el siglo XVII, Colección Saman, Universidad Católica Andres Bello (sin fecha).
16. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Cedula Real de Valladolid de March 6, 1602 en la Información General que los vecinos de Cumaná sobre que se le haga merced de ciertas cosas," dated 18 Aug., 1599.
17. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 186, "Informacion del Obispo de Puerto Rico," dated 26 July, 1604.
18. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 190, "Solicitud de los vecinos de la ciudad de Cumaná, ante el gobernador Capitán General Pedro Suarez Coronel," dated 10 Feb., 1610.
19. Ibid.
20. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 187, "Cartas del Gobernador de la provincia de Cumaná," dated July 1600 and 20 May, 1604.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. BM, Add. Mss., 13-974, Document No. 24, "Estado de la Pacificación y Población de los indios Cumanagotos, Nueva Barcelona," dated 12 June, 1638, fols. 113-122.

24. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 191, "Visita del Obispo de Puerto Rico, 1639-1642."
25. Ibid.
26. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Resumen de una carta del Cabildo Secular de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated June, 1690.
27. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 625, "Representación de la ciudad al Rey," Cumaná, dated 28 Nov., 1659.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 625, "Carta del Gobernador interino de Cumaná, Don Juan Bautista Urtarte sobre la invasión Inglesa a la ciudad," dated 25 May, 1669.
31. Ibid.
32. AGI, Santo Domingo, Ramo 2, Leg., 187, "Informe del gobernador Francisco Palacio Rada al Rey," Cumaná, dated 16 Aug., 1674.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Fray Francisco Tauste, "Relación de los Capuchinos de Aragon en la Provincia de Cumaná, 1678," in Fray Froilan de Rionegro, Relación de las misiones de los Padres Capuchinos en las Antiguas Provincias Españolas, hoy República de Venezuela, 1650-1817 (Sevilla, 1918). This document has been re-issued in a more complete form in Los Primeros Historiadores Capuchinos de Venezuela, Preliminary study by Fray Buenaventura Carrocera, FHCV (Caracas, 1964), Vol. 69.
36. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 188, "Cartas del Gobernador Francisco Vivera al Rey da relación sobre el terremoto y presencia de holandes en las costas," dated 30 Dec., 1684 and 11 Nov., 1688.
37. Ibid.
38. AGI, Santo Domingo, "Resumen de una carta del cabildo secular de la ciudad de Cumaná," dated 13 June, 1691.

39. Ibid.
40. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Estado general presentado por el gobernador Gaspar del Hoyo," dated July, 1692.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 189, "Información del Gobernador Gaspar del Hoyo al Rey," dated 10 Dec., 1695.
44. Jorge Villalonga, "Descripción de la Provincia de Cumaná en 1720," in Relaciones Geográficas de Venezuela, FHCV (Caracas, 1964), Vol. 70, pp. 361-363.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. In 1703 Governor Ramirez Arellano had distributed some small parcels as one can see from the map of Altagracia, dated 1704, and included here as Figure 21.
48. Villalonga, op. cit., p. 365.
49. Ibid.
50. B. Tavera Acosta, Historia de Carúpano, 3rd edition, (Caracas, 1969), p. 37; the author states that by 1647 there had been established not only Puerto Santo, but some houses in the neighboring valleys of Upper Carúpano, Macarapana, Guayacán, Areocuar, Caratacuar, with more than 400 inhabitants.
51. Villalonga, op. cit., p. 365. The original consulted is in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Manuscript No. 2817.
52. Ibid. Some years earlier, as one can see in Figure 21, Maracapana's Indian population had been allocated land for themselves, for ejido, and for the community chest.
53. Ibid.
54. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 576, "Visita del Obispo Sebastian Lorenzo Pizarra a los Pueblos del Oriente de Venezuela," dated 30 Oct., 1730. It should be noted that no mention has been made of population numbers since the document is not complete. Some data are given (e.g. Nuestra Señora del Pilar with a population of 300, and

San Felipe de Austria with 950), but other settlements, such as San Baltasar are not mentioned in the extant part of the visita.

55. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 576, "Visita del Gobernador Carlos Suere, Capitán y gobernador de esta provincia," dated 1741.
56. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 157, fols. 123-197r, "Autos de la Visita de Mateo Gual a la provincia de Cumaná," dated 11 Nov., 1757. In 1736, Don Juan Nuñez del Castillo made a visit to the province. See AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 636.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. AHAHC, Vitrina I-103. Colección, British Museum, "Observaciones hechas en el año 1758 y 1759 en la provincia de Cumaná," Cumaná, dated 14 Nov., 1759.
65. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 201 & 202, "Autos de la Visita del Gobernador Diguja y Villagomez a la provincia de Cumaná," dated 1761. In legajo 201 are to be found the "Notes explaining the General Map of the Province," also BM, Add. Mss. 13-987, Document 16, "Visita de Joseph Diguja Villagomez," fols. 64-86, dated 1761.
66. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 201, "Estado en que se hallo el Senor Coronel Diguja Gobernador y Capitán General de toda la gobernación, las doctrinas y misiones que estan al cargo de los RR. PP. Capuchinos Aragoneses la que se ejecuto en el presente año de 1761."
67. Ibid.
68. AHMN, Expte. 6900, "Demarcaciones hechas a todas las Ciudades, Villas y Pueblos de la gobernación de Cumaná por el Señor Coronel Don Joseph Diguja, cuando ejecutó la visita general de sus Provincias," Cumaná, dated 4 July, 1761.

87. APSI, Libros donde se asientan los bautismos de toda clase de pardas (Pardos, Morenos y esclavos), Años 1727-1730, 1740, 1745, 1750, 1780-1800.
88. The data from this visita have been taken from the following legajos: AGI, Caracas, Leg. 343, "Actas de la Visita del Gobernador Urrutía a la Gobernación de la Provincia"; AGI, Caracas, Leg. 32, "Estado General de demuestra la existencia de las ciudades, villas y lugares de españoles, doctrinas y misiones de indios de esta gobernación de la provincia de Nueva Andalucía"; AGI, Mapas y Planos, Caracas, 158, "Estado General (Cuadro)," dated 30 Sept. 1773.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid. Here one is speaking of the Barrio de los Margariteños which was extended along a street known by that name and which in the twentieth century was known as Emparán; it is situated southeast of the street of San Francisco and northeast of Altagracia.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 158, "Corregimientos creado en la Provincia," Cumaná, dated 4 Sept., 1777.
95. AGI, Santo Domingo, Leg. 356, "Actas de la Visita d Fray Manuel Jimenez Peres," Cumaná, dated 1773-1774; AANHC, Archivador 2, Gaveta 2, peta 11, "Viaje a la America del libro de Visitas de Fray Iñigo Abbad de Puerto Rico," dated 1781. The visita has been dated approximately in the third quarter of the eighteenth century for he mentions some correspondence whose date is known to be 1773.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.

69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 201, "Autos de la Visita del Gobernador Joseph Diguja Villagomez," dated 1761.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid. For similar analyses of class structure utilizing the labels "Don" and "Doña" see M. M. Swann, "Landlords and Tenants in Durango, 1778: Aspects of Colonial Urban Structure," paper presented at AAG Annual Meeting (Salt Lake City), April, 1977, 34 pp.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.; Alberto Sanabría, "Convento de San Francisco," in Reconocimiento, No. 84, Cumaná, 2 Oct., 1926.
78. AGI,
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid. The population of Guaikeríes Indians of Alta-gracia and Socorro were included in the 16 doctrinas in the care of secular priests.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. I.I. Dauxion Lavaisse, Viaje a las islas de Trinidad, Tobago, Margarita y a diversas partes de Venezuela en la América Meridional, First edition in Spanish, (Caracas, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1967), p. 239.
86. APSI, Libros de Matrimonios de Pardos, Morenos y Esclavos (Toda clase de Pardos de 1749-1800), Libros de Matrimonios de Blancos de 1745-1800.
87. APSI, Libros donde se asientan los bautismos de toda clase de pardas (Pardos, Morenos y esclavos), Años 1727-1730, 1740, 1745, 1750, 1780-1800.

101. AGI, Caracas, Leg. 32, "Estado general que demuestra la existencia de las ciudades, villas y lugares de espanoles, doctrinas y misiones de indios de esta gobernacion de la provincia de Nueva Andalucia de Cumaná y de Nueva Barcelona," dated 30 Sept., 1773.
102. Ibid.
103. Here reference is being made to the collection of Guaraunos Indians that were found south and southeast of the Province in the delta zone savannas towards the Río Guarapiche up to the north bank of the Río Orinoco.
104. AGNC, Intendencia, Tomo LXIV, "Al Señor Capitán D. Juan Guillelmi de Fermín de Rueda," La Guaira, 28 Sept., 1790, fols. 83-126. He notes that the city had 2500 vecinos which would mean a total population of 11,000. Some years before an epidemic hit the province and decimated some Indian settlements which were wiped out entirely (e.g. Inepa). For details see AGNC, Gobernación y Capitanía General, Vol. XLI, "Carta al Capitán General de Fray Ramon de Tauste," Inepa, dated 1 Jan., 1789.
105. Alejandro Humboldt, Viajes a las regiones equinocciales del Nuevo Continente, Traducción de Lisandro Alvarado (Caracas, 1941), Vol. I, pp. 345-389.
106. Ibid., p. 401
107. APAC, The books to which we refer are the few which exist for the colonial period, and these themselves are in a very poor state of repair.
108. Humboldt, op. cit., p. 387. Between the old barrio of San Francisco and los Cerritos was the barrio of Chiclana where blancos and pardos of all colors lived.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid., pp. 389-390.
111. APSI, Libros de Matrimonios de Blancos de 1745-1800. The deacon's office of the said city have projected to protect these books with the municipality; a suitable archive is in preparation.
112. Francisco Depons, Viaje a la parte Oriental de Tierra Firme (Caracas, 1960), pp. 241-286. Depons speaks of the recent establishment of Guaira by the Spanish and

French who lived on Trinidad and that they had abandoned it in 1797 with the capture of the Island by the English.

113. Ibid. See Dauxian Lavaisse, op. cit., p. 282.
114. APSI, Libros de Matrimonios de Blancos de los años 1745-1800.
115. Dauxion Lavaissee, op. cit., p. 243.
116. Ibid., p. 242.

CHAPTER XIV

URBAN FUNCTIONS

Before the Cumaná coasts were chosen to become the seat of experimental mission settlement, or the center of a peaceful colonization by farmworkers, Venezuela's shores had been part of a generous tract of land granted to Christopher Columbus and his heirs by the Crown. In the 1530's, the residents of Nueva Cadiz (Neogaditanos) were given territorial jurisdiction, and established governorship in the newly-constructed fortress. The boundaries of Nueva Cadiz, then the major eastern urban center, expanded to the continental shores, thus inheriting the Cumaná pearl trade, gold mines, a potential Indian slave labor force, the fertile Río Manzanares valley, as well as an opportunity to establish trade with the area's inhabitants.

Prior to the founding of the first urban center in 1562, the neogaditanos and conquistadores waged a constant battle over dominion of the coastal zone. The latter group planned to include this region under their new government; their jurisdiction over the area prompted a series of battles with those who not only wished to establish commercial trade, but also wanted to enslave the Indian labor force.

The province of Nueva Andalucía was founded in 1568, under a Royal Decree, and included the provinces of Paría, Cumanagoto, Chacopatas, Caura, and Guayana. Initially, it fell within the jurisdiction of the Audiencia Court of Santo Domingo. Afterwards, the province was governed by the distant Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada. Cumaná became the capital city, as well as the center of political, ecclesiastical, fiscal, and military power, in Nueva Andalucía. In 1764, Guayana was removed from its jurisdiction.

From 1574, the city was ruled under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Puerto Rico. It suffered the consequences of geographic isolation--four years after its founding, the urban center still had no vicario. The city of Cumaná petitioned for a separation from the Bishopric, and asked to become part of the ecclesiastical government of neighboring Venezuela, 50 leagues or 12 days journey away.¹

Voyages to Puerto Rico were infrequent; a round trip took almost one year. Crossing the Caribbean became a great risk, due to the constant threat of attack by pirates and Indians that frequented the coastal areas. The ecclesiastical ties between the Bishopric of Puerto Rico and Cumaná suffered greatly because of the distance between the two. According to the Cumaná settlers, in over 20 years no one in the province had been confirmed, the church did not make any appointments and those with ecclesiastical disputes were

confronted with much "vexation and hardship."²

Economic functions in the province became institutionalized with the founding of the Royal Treasury (Real Hacienda), which maintained direct ties with its respective authorities in the Iberian peninsula. A report by the treasurer in 1595 resulted in a Royal Decree by which the King ordered the governor of Cartagena to levy taxes on Cumaná and Margarita, due to the constant threat by the enemies of Spain on the Cumanese shores.³

In 1688, a Royal accountant (Contador Mayor de Cuentas) became administrator of the Royal Treasure Chests in Santa Marta, Venezuela, Espíritu Santo de la Grita, Margarita, Santo Tomas, and the provinces of Cumaná and Guayana.

Viceroy Villalonga disclosed in 1720 that Cumaná's Royal Treasurer and Accountant had been direct appointments of the Royal Audiencia Court of Santo Domingo. These two officials of Cumana's Royal Treasury did very little for the province because "they did not meet their obligations, nor did they think it worth their while to even attempt it."⁴

On the other hand, in the discussions of Morales Escandon it was suggested that in 1740, with the establishment of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, the province of Cumaná paid its accounts directly to the accounting office in Caracas.⁵

The peculiar political administration imposed by Spain on Cumaná's political, fiscal, and ecclesiastical functions accentuated the geographic isolation caused by the great distances that separated the urban capital from the government offices administering each of these functions. Cumaná's isolation was further exacerbated by the lack of communication with the mother country, as well as by the ever-present obstacles and dangers which restricted land and sea travel. The administrative structures contributed not only to the low developmental level of economic growth in Venezuela's eastern provinces, but also to the slow pace of urban development in Cumana.

Original Functions

The city of Cumaná began its urban existence upon the establishment of political jurisdiction, in the name of the Spanish Crown in the area from Maracapaná to the Río Orellana encompassing some 200 leagues of coastland and 900 leagues of interior.⁶ Simultaneously, the reunion of the small population composed of 20 Spaniards, some converted Indians, women and children living in makeshift shelters paved the way for the founding of a common community. The first municipal council (cabildo) representing the urban center's governmental function included a Mayor, two Aldermen, an Attorney, a High Constable and a Notary Public.⁷

The Royal Treasury in accordance with the guidelines

set out in the 1573 "Ordinances of Discovery, New Population, and Pscification of the Indies" was initially run by three Royal officials who, directly or indirectly, controlled the contents of the Royal Chest.⁸

A report issued by city authorities described the elements that were taken into consideration in choosing a site for the urban center. These included proximity to available water supplies, availability of land, number of peaceful Indians in the territory, and the proximity to the Arawak Indians.⁹ In the same report the authorities appealed to the Crown to mercifully bestow the title of "city" upon their settlement, and to send a Dominican prelate to the recently-founded community.¹⁰ Five years later, in light of the city's precarious existence, the Royal Court of Santo Domingo decided to appoint a magistrate to rule Cumaná.¹¹ This action destroyed the chances of nearby Margarita obtaining jurisdiction over the city of Cumaná and its surrounding territories.

As soon as the formal steps towards reestablishing the settlement had been completed, the city began a period of centrifugal dynamism. The goals they set for themselves included the establishment of ties with neighboring Indian populations; cultivation of natural resources, using Indian labor; and providing whatever seemed necessary for the urban population's sustenance. The Araya peninsula, a region rich in salt and fish, became the site of extensive salt mining

and fishing industries. This proved to be a determining factor in the incorporation of this area by the city. Pearl-diving, fishing, and salt-mining became the fundamental elements of Cumaná's economy. The distribution of the aboriginal population which occupied the area from extreme eastern Cariaco to the Río Neverí, an area 36 leagues long and 14 leagues wide, was yet another way in which the urban nucleus' dynamic force manifested itself. Available land was distributed into areas for cultivation, and cattle and sheep pasture.¹² Its peripheral geographic location made Cumaná the gateway (cabeza de puente) for the discovery, conquest, and settlement of the vast provincial territory. The Spanish settlers founded the community of Nuestra Señora de los Caballeros on the west bank of the Neverí. Their jurisdiction extended to the area occupied by the savage Chacopata, Cumanagoto, and Píritu tribes. The aborigines inhabiting these eastern provinces were soon forced into submission, thus allowing the Spanish settlers to conquer the much coveted Guayana.

The constant threat of attack by hostile Indians and by the French and British pirates¹³ along the coast succeeded in making Cumaná's defense one of the population's main preoccupations.

Foreign vessels along the provincial coasts also contributed to ever-growing illegal trade activities.¹⁴ The city's first commercial enterprise was with the neighboring

island of Margarita, to which they sold a herd of horses. A steady supply of Spanish goods was maintained by the annual visit of a merchant vessel from Spain. Internal trade consisted of an exchange of Spanish goods that were imported specifically to be traded for Indian products.

Cumaná served as the seat of provincial ecclesiastical authority. The arrival of several members of religious orders in the city also made it the center of sacramental administration for Spaniards, as well as the center for baptism of the Indians.¹⁵

Cumaná's role as the seat of political, economic, ecclesiastical and military power also made it the appropriate site for the administration and organization of the human and natural resources of its hinterlands.

Such natural factors as its geographic location, ports, and abundant fish supplies distinguished Cumaná early on as an important economic center.

Fiscal Functions

The city's Royal Treasury was established from the initial founding of Montesinos. However, it was the Royal Officials who specified its exact functions when they were put in charge of the institution. Each of the three officials received a salary of 300,000 maravedies, in addition to housing and provisions.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that, in accordance with a Royal resolution, these salaries were

"fair and adequate" and afforded a comfortable lifestyle in exchange for which they paid low taxes and practiced a fierce loyalty to the Crown. Cumaná's Royal Treasury centralized the system of taxation in the province. Taxation, however, proved to be a heavy burden on consumer production and the growth of labor.

Cumaná's first contribution to the Royal Treasury came in the form of a royal fifth (quinto) paid on pearls. Taxes were levied according to the appraised value and weight of each pearl. Another contribution to the treasury consisted of tariffs placed on imported merchandise, as well as on fish and agricultural products. A decline in the availability of pearls resulted in increased agricultural production as a source of livelihood. Cultivation of the land became the main economic activity. The rising cost of licenses for public auctions in 1597 clearly indicates the growth of agricultural production.¹⁷

Initially, the Royal Treasury's expenditures consisted of the salaries of the governor (2000 ducatos), royal officials, village priest, and sexton. Salaries for the latter two were set at 50,000 and 25,000 maravedeis, respectively.¹⁸

In 1604, the scarcity of pearls resulted in a reduction in taxable income for the Royal Treasury, thus making it difficult to pay the salaries of the royal officials. A few years later, the city attorney petitioned the Crown for permission to use Indian labor in the pearl-diving

industry and authorization to farm tobacco in order to stimulate the economy and thus alleviate the treasury's fiscal problems.¹⁹ In that same petition, the city asked the Crown for the reduction of import and export tariffs on agricultural products, from 10% to 2.5%. The citizens claimed that only merchants and dealers profitted from the additional percentage.²⁰

In the 1680's, the tariff on exports of fish, cocoa and honey was lowered to 2.5% and to 5% on imports. The tariffs imposed by the "Windward fleet" (armada de barlovento), which guarded the provincial coasts, was set at 2.5% on such products as fish, cocoa, and honey. The penalty for those caught smuggling was a seizure of the goods, which were later sold at public auction. In 1684, the profit from these auctions proved to be the major source of revenue for the Royal Treasury.²¹ The tithes (10%) which were used to support the church proved to be a burden which hampered agricultural production in the valleys of Cumaná, Cariaco, Cumanacoa, Manzanares, Maracapaná, Bordones and Santa Fe. The media-anata adversely affected the salaries of civil and military employees, availability of land grants, and the allocation of encomiendas.²²

The salaries administered by the Royal Treasury included those from the governor's down to the priests and sextons of Altagracia parish. The treasury was also responsible for the cost of upkeep of the castles at San Antonio

de la Eminencia and Nuestra Señora de las Cabezas, and for the infantry stationed at the Araya fortress. Profits from corn and cocoa crops went towards the payment of the infantry's salaries.²³

In addition to its two royal officials, the city also had a guard (guarda Mayor) and a constable (aguacíl), appointed by the Royal Court of Santo Domingo at a monthly salary of 12 ducados.²⁴

In 1720, Viceroy Villalonga called these salaries unjustifiable in view of the fact that the two officials received additional compensation from import and export duties levied, income which rightly belonged to Royal officials.²⁵ He called for the elimination of these posts, claiming that they performed no duties yet remained among the best paid public officials.

The tribute imposed on the Indian laborers between the ages of 18 and 50 proved to be an important source of income for the treasury. A decree issued by Governor Matheo Gual in 1757 confirmed that the income from such taxes on Indian labor supplied the necessary funds for the salary of the local magistrate. Tribute was normally collected at harvest time.

The Royal Treasury at Cumaná also administered the local treasuries of the city of Nueva Barcelona, and Santo Tomé de Guayana. The treasuries in both these cities provided for the appointment of a Deputy, chosen by the province's governor

and commander-in-chief. The cities of Barcelona, Higuerote, Maporal, and Capallo came under the jurisdiction of Caracas, which imposed taxes on the products exported from these cities. A special Deputy was appointed to collect taxes on cocoa and maize crops in the valleys of Río Caribe and Carúpano.

The goods which were used for internal trade and for the sustenance of the province were subject to an excise tax (Real Alcabala). This tax was imposed not only on agricultural products, but on all commercial merchandise.²⁶

The Tribunal of Santa Cruzada and Court of the Inquisition were established in the city of Cumaná in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Tribunal was run by an assistant delegate from Puerto Rico.

According to the reports of Governor Diguja, a total of 33,354 pesos were collected in taxes by the 28 branches of the Royal Treasury in 1761. Its expenditures amounted to some 15,229 pesos. Twelve years later, according to the reports of Governor Urrutía, combined income from taxes had caused a significant increase in the Royal Treasury's resources. The sale of municipal operations, a system initiated by Philip II in 1591, made only a small contribution to the Royal Treasury.²⁷

By 1777, Cumaná province had 11 Indian settlements, with a taxable population of 1228 Indians, representing 18 tribes, in the 18 to 50 age group. The nearby Indian

villages of San Juan Maracapana, which was run by a magistrate and priest, Mariquitar, and Meseta were also under the jurisdiction of Cumaná.²⁸

The city's municipal income was provided by the leasing of municipal land and the rent obtained from country estates. This income was used primarily for the development of the urban center. By the mid-eighteenth century, the city had six tracts of leased land, each of which produced an annual 120 pesos per 20 pesos initially invested.²⁹ Towards the end of the colonial period, each tract was producing an income of 293 pesos.

The Royal Treasury of Cumaná soon became a branch of Venezuela's newly-founded Intendancy, just as was the case in 1793, when it became a branch of Caracas' Real Consulado.
Commercial Functions

Cumaná's role as an important administrative center in the pearl industry attracted the constant attention of foreign vessels in pursuit of a share of the profitable trade. Despite the fact that Cumaná was not included in the formal Spanish maritime system, in 1597, 24 ships, from such distant places as Sevilla, the Canary Islands, Portugal, Angola, and Puerto Rico, docked in the provincial port. It is interesting to note that only six of these vessels were on their designated courses; the remaining 16 claimed to have made a necessary detour.³⁰ Also among the 24 vessels were three slave ships, which brought in 475 negros to be used in

the pearl trade.

The arrival of French, British, and Dutch ships in Cumaná soon made it an important trade center for contraband goods. These were either sold clandestinely, or seized and sold at public auctions in the city's main plaza. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the contraband trade had grown to such an extent that negro and mulato women sold foreign imported products publicly on the streets, and the entire city had become a marketplace of European wares.

The city of Cumaná maintained such close commercial ties with the neighboring island of Margarita that some merchants made that island their home. Shipments of salt and cured fish regularly left Cumaná's ports for Margarita; other major markets were Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Cartagena, Trinidad, and Caracas.³¹ Small quantities of agricultural products accompanied the shipments of salt and fish. Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Margarita were also sources for Spanish products en route for Cumaná's ports.

In 1602, the city petitioned the King for a six year extension of the agreement by which two annual supply ships were sent to Cumaná. To insure alternation in the arrival of the ships, they asked that one be sent with the Tierra Firme fleet, the other with the New Spain fleet. The residents of Cumaná had already enjoyed this arrangement for ten years.³²

The first shipment of agricultural and fish products

to Spain in 1614 included supplies of wood, tobacco, and animal hides. The province still had abundant supplies of wood and tobacco, over 2000 head of cattle, and a potentially profitable sugar cane crop.³³

In 1614, Cunaná's municipal Attorney emphasized the need for population growth to insure increased "trade and commerce." He petitioned the Crown for a guard fleet. to prevent neighboring governors from obstructing immigration to Cumaná.

The city Attorney, in another attempt to spur the city's agricultural growth, requested the elimination of import-export tariffs (almojarifazgo) on agricultural products. He also asked for the reduction of the tax on incoming merchandise from Castille, from 10% to 2.5%.³⁴

Records of the tariffs levied by the Royal Treasury indicate close commercial ties with the neighboring province of Venezuela, which received shipments of sugar, cocoa, fish and honey. Cattle was also moved overland to the nearby province. Registers of exports from the Cumaná port showed fish to be the major export product in the final decades of the eighteenth century. Quantities of these same products were shipped to Margarita, Trinidad, and Santo Domingo, as well. From Santo Domingo, fat was shipped to Cumaná.³⁵

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, a reduction in foreign trade forced Cumaná to petition Spain for per-

mission to send to the peninsula annual shipments of cocoa, tobacco, and brazil-wood, all of which were in abundant supply, and any other crops that could be cultivated.³⁶

A major obstacle to the development of trade was the lack of currency. Cumaná's neighboring regions requested a supply of money to be used in their exchange of goods.

In the mid-eighteenth century, salt and fish were the main export products. These were traded primarily to Caracas, where there were no duties to be paid. The Río Caribe and Carúpano valleys yielded quantities of corn and cocoa that were sold to neighboring Margarita, which did pay import tax on the goods. Accounts of Governor Diguja's 1761 visit confirm that 3000 quintals of fish and large quantities of salt were sold annually to the province of Venezuela. Illegal commerce with foreign colonies in the Caribbean had reached quite remarkable proportions. It was estimated that of the 800 bushels of cocoa that were produced in 1761, 150 were consumed by the province, 150 were shipped to Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, and the remaining 500 were sold illegally.³⁷

A similar situation occurred in the production of hides and cattle fat. The governor reported that of the 11,000 to 12,000 hides and 14,000 to 15,000 arrobas (each of 25 pounds) of animal fat that were produced in nearby Barcelona, some 7000 to 8000 hides and 5000 to 6000 arrobas of grease were sold legally to Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico,

Margarita, and the city of Cumaná. The remaining quantities are believed to have been sold as contraband. There appears to have been no central marketplace in the city--it was considered unnecessary since each house was a store of European goods and local agricultural products. The city's main plaza was instead used only for the sale of human piezas--negro slaves.

The urban population of Cumaná was dependent for its meat supplies upon Barcelona; these supplies were enough to meet the total demand for meat, despite losses incurred in the course of transporting the animals across hazardous overland routes.³⁸

The population inhabiting the poor fishing regions in the Araya peninsula, like the Indian population on the city's outskirts, sold fish to the city's inhabitants to obtain the necessary money for their subsistence.

With the establishment of commercial ties with the Barcelona Company, the city insured regular supplies of provisions from Cataluña and other parts of the province, as well as certain European products that were not usually available from Spain.³⁹ The Company vessels were required to stop at the port of Cadiz to obtain clearance, both on their way out to or returning from Cumaná. Among the products which were imported were hosiery, linens (painted and plain), wines (white and red), and hats.⁴⁰ The products exported by the Company included hides, brazil-wood, cotton,

coffee, indigo, bushels of cocoa, balsam, silver and gold.

Local Functions

The rigid grid-plan that had been set out when the community first settled along the left bank of the Río Manzanares had, by mid-eighteenth century, adapted in accordance with the area's geographic characteristics: the river on one side and the San Antonio mountains on the other. In addition to its straight, narrow streets, the city had irregular streets, which followed the contours of the local hills. By 1800 the city extended from the hills to the flatlands, a distance estimated at about a mile in length.

The castle of San Antonio de la Eminencia was constructed atop the mountains on the city's outskirts, from 1684 to 1686. A cliff parallel to the mountain range served as the location for the Candelaria fort. These two structures guarded the Castle of Santa María de la Cabeza, built between 1669 and 1673 in the central plains. Santa María de la Cabeza was used as the Governor's mansion and seat of government offices.

Physical features, economic conditions, and natural resources were fundamental factors in the urban center's architectural development. In 1761, the city had only seven two-story houses. These had wooden balconies and iron hand railings, a vestige of the Canary Island influence.

The city's more affluent residents divided their living space into two rooms. The sides of the living room led to

closets (recamara). Living quarters for servants were located in the back yard.⁴¹ Hammocks, originally an Indian tradition, were widely used by the residents of the city who used them in place of cots. As many as four hammocks were set up in each room; at night the living room was converted into sleeping quarters.

The construction material most commonly used was bajareque which, at least in Cumaná, meant

formar paredes de puntales de madera entre tejido de cana, sobre esta barro y encima una mano de cal, hecha una y otra con tan poco arte que no hay pared, y si con los dobleses del tejido de caña cuyo aparejo en la continuación de las aguas se desmorona.⁴²

Sometimes, adobe and tapía was used, which provided substitutes for brick, and in three or four houses stone was used. Roofs were made often of the same type of wattle/thatch, occasionally embellished with new straw thatch.⁴³

The windows and doors on the fronts of houses reflected individuals. They were often simple and unadorned, to match the rest of the construction. Windows and doors were made of strong cedar wood, with no adornment other than their mouldings.

The interiors also showed great simplicity in their styles. Cumaná's affluent residents used their indoor patios as family centers. These architectural structures had pillars of stone or brick.⁴⁴

Economic factors played an important role even in the use of living space. The home owners slept in their spacious

chambers, while their slaves slept on rush mats. Those unfortunate slaves with less affluent owners were forced to sleep on mats or the ground in the back yard.

In addition to the military fortresses mentioned earlier, there was the more modest Santa Catalina fortress, situated on the river's west bank. The Santa Catalina structure was made of stakes, masonry, and clay; it had, however, been abandoned when the Río Manzanares changed its course. To insure military protection, the city of Cumaná organized a garrison, which was paid 25562 pesos and 10,000 ducadas in silver from the Royal Treasury in Caracas. The garrison at Araya was paid 41,360 pesos annually, from the Royal Treasury in Mexico.⁴⁵

By 1761, the city had 432 houses, of which some 80 were of masonry and 150 of "bajareque" covered with straw. Except for three, all of the houses were single-story structures. The remaining 230 houses were made of clay. The houses were 36 feet wide and 24 or 30 feet long, excluding the yard areas.

The urban center's government was headed by a town council which was made up of two councillors, an Ensign (Alferez), a Constable (Aguacíl), a Trustee (Depositador), an Attorney (Procurador), two members of the Court of Justice (Alcaldes de la Hermandad), and a Notary Public (Escribano). The Royal Treasury had its own Notary, whose election was approved by the governor. This town corporation oversaw

the population's activities at the district level. The city Attorney represented the population, and acted on its legal needs and problems.⁴⁶

The city administered its own finances through the fondos or propios, which in the eighteenth century produced an annual income of 160 to 200 pesos from the cultivation of a few allotments of land and a mortgaged building. To augment these sources a tax was levied on incoming vessels. Brigantines paid four pesos tax; sloops and schooners, two pesos; larger vessels, six pesos; and foreign sloops and schooners, three pesos. In the financial year 1789 to 1790, the tax produced an income of 144 pesos.⁴⁷

The backward state of the city was blamed on governmental incompetence and the impoverished state in which the city found itself. The city lacked government buildings; the public jail was nothing more than a small house of bajareque. The castle of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, in addition to being the governor's mansion, served as the seat of government offices and as a more secure prison for certain types of offenders.

Ecclesiastical functions were performed by the Purificación parish church, a modest building of beams and clay, old-fashioned and small given the size of its congregation. Ecclesiastical functions were supported by a budget of approximately 300 pesos that was derived from taxes levied by the Royal Treasury.⁴⁸

The parish church was staffed by two priests, a sexton, and an organist. The city had, in addition, eight unassigned priests, a deacon, and 15 or 20 priests in training. Cumana had two poorly-constructed convents which housed 20 nuns and which were supported by charitable donations. A Superintendent Vicar was also authorized, in the Bishop's absence, to make recommendations to make appointments to fill vacant parish posts.⁴⁹

The city's physiognomy had undergone many changes by 1773, despite such obstacles as the violent earthquake which left the city in ruins in 1766. Seventy-one houses were constructed between 1765 and 1771; 54 were reconstructed and 21 were being built in the last year.

The construction of a new church with a choir loft was begun in 1765.⁵⁰ The following year a bridge was built over the Río Manzanares as can be seen in Figure . Two roads, one which ran from the bridge to the beach at Salado, and another which extended through the village to the beach at Barbudo, had been made.⁵¹ Still another road, linking the capital city to the Indian villages in San Juan de Maracapaná, was constructed along the course of the Río Manzanares. The Royal Customs Office was built on the plaza opposite the bridge in 1776. The city planner, Engineer Perello, expected to build the Government Accounting offices; a governor's house; and a jail on this same plaza.⁵²

Before the provision of the bridge, residents were forced to ford the river on foot. When torrential rains made



Figure 25. Plan of the City of Cumana, 1777

Transcription of Figure 25

"Plano General de la ciudad de Cumaná y
sus contornos"

- A - Fuerte de San Antonio
- B - Fuerte de Santa María
- C - Reducto de la Candelaria
- D - Batería proyectada en la boca del río
- C - Reducto de la Candelaria
- E - Batería proyectada en la boca del río
- F - Iglesia Parroquial
- G - Convento de Santo Domingo
- H - Convento de San Francisco
- Y - Hermita de Nuestra Señora del Carmen
- K - Iglesia Parroquial empezada y suspendida
- L - Almacén de Pólvora
- M - Aduana
- N - Río Manzanarea
- O - Playa o Río Seco
- P - Pueblo de Guaiqueríes de Altagracia
- Q - Parage llamada el Dique donde se depositan las maderas
- R - El Fondeadero
- S - Cuartel proyectado para la Compañía de Infantería

Source: Archivo de Mapas del Ministerio del Ejercito, Madrid,
Sección de Mapas de Venezuela, No. 2836.

this impossible, river crossings were made by a slave-operated canoe.

In 1774, the city's governor had sent a proposal for extensions to the street plan to the Council of the Indies. The new streets were to begin at the Río Manzanares and run along the plains region.⁵³ In 1772, funds were allocated for the city's defense; fortifications were built by the engineer, Don Bartolomé Amphoux. However, those funds were given under a restriction that prohibited construction around the mountains so that the new housing units would not be concealed from the old part of the city. Construction was therefore confined to the plains and river bank areas. Control over the street layout was recommended, so that the entire town could be seen from the San Antonio castle. In planning the street pattern, it was decided that the main street would be the widest. The Río Manzanares delta thus was situated midway between the city and its public lands.⁵⁴

Construction of the Hermita de la Divina Pastora began in the 1770's under Governor Urrutía; it was completed in neo-classic style in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The Bishop of Puerto Rico, in his 1773 visit, remarked on the proximity of Indian villages to the city. He further noted that these villages were suburbs of Cumaná, particularly Altagracia, which was close to becoming a part of the city. The Bishop ordered that the two Indian churches of Altagracia

and Socorro be amalgamated with the parish church of Santa Inés.⁵⁵

Plans were made for the construction of a hospital, to care for Cumaná's sick residents and Indians. It was to be supported by a tax of four reales which was levied on each barrel of rum imported from Spain or produced in the province. The hospital was built almost at the edge of the barrio of Toporo.⁵⁶ A few years after the hospital's construction, a main street leading from the main plaza to the hospital was made. This resulted in rapid population growth in the barrio of Toporo. Don Alfonso Ruíz, the first surgeon, came to the hospital a few years later.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the city still lacked any tall buildings as a result of continuous earthquakes which it had suffered. The city's houses had spread outwards to the mountain fringes, and to the village of Nuestra Señora del Socorro, the barrio of Toporo (Nuestra Señora de la Paz), and barrio Chaclana, which was the one closest to the city's center. The parish of San Francisco and the Guaiquerí village of Nuestra Señora de Altagracia lay to the southwest, while the new village of Margarita lay to the west (Figure 25).

Cultural functions were mostly conducted in private; the population received instruction in Castilian grammar, calculus, geometry, music, art, and Latin in the instructor's home. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was

still no provision for public education. The children of Cumaná's affluent citizens were sent for advanced education in the city of Caracas.

The town council in light of the misery in which the residents of Toporo and the Guaiquerí villages were experiencing, stated that their poverty was such that they could no longer afford water supplies from the Río Manzanares. The council proposed the establishment of night patrols and guards, to prevent the illegal theft of water supplies. The Royal Treasury's Notary Public felt that this situation responded only to the interests of one of the city's landowners, since, with the exception of three or four houses not on the river's course, domestic wells were not used, the residents obtaining their supplies from the Manzanares. He further claimed that via the Santa Catalina channel sited in a somewhat remote area, much contraband was being introduced, as well as being a hideout for runaway slaves.⁵⁷ The city was fast becoming overcrowded and by the late eighteenth century, the area from the left bank of the Manzanares to Altagracia had become the only available site for new constructions. At the start of the nineteenth century, the residents of Margarita barrio had begun to build their own church.

Functional links to the rural areas

Capuchin friars were responsible for the initial settlement of many eastern Venezuelan villages, which were

founded as mission sites in the mid-seventeenth century. These missions fell within the jurisdiction of the authority of the Capuchin Prefects; in Cumaná, the ruling prefects were of the Aragonese branch of the Capuchin friars. The village of Nuestra Senora de los Angeles was the seat of this ecclesiastical authority.

Twenty years after the establishment of the first missionary town, when it was estimated that the population had stabilized, the village was designated as a doctrina village, and placed under the charge of a secular priest, appointed by the resident Vicar in Cumaná. The Indian population, under this system, was subject to taxation, and was placed under the jurisdiction of a Spanish magistrate (corregidor) appointed by the provincial governor.

As the missionary process spread and more Indians were indoctrinated, the emphasis in the city shifted towards the interests of the Spanish population. The land attached to Indian settlements was reduced in size, so that more could be made available to the urban settlers. Whites and mulatos were encouraged to appropriate Indian settlements, thereby obtaining not only territorial control, but also at the same stroke a potential cheap labor force. The move into the Indian villages by whites and mulatos resulted in a great degree of racial mix; the Indian villages soon became mixed populations, where Spanish language and customs dominated.

The basic residential structure among the Indian popu-

lation consisted of a collective housing unit (vivienda colectiva) in which several families lived. In 1761, Governor Diguja disclosed that the houses in which the Indians lived were made of wattle and mud with straw roofs. He added that these structures were small, dirty, and in poor repair, and in severe shortage in relation to the population.⁵⁸

The lives of the Indian population revolved around the church. These, too, were built of the same materials as their houses, and lacked, at least in the eyes of the Spanish colonists, the type of ornamentation traditionally associated with places of worship.

The Indians had common lands near their villages, on which they planted manioc, maize, and plantains. Quantities of these, however, were so small that they barely satisfied their needs. The income from taxes levied on the Indian population was used to pay the salary of their special Magistrate, the Corregidor. An additional, annual tax of one real was collected, which went towards the salary of the Protector of Indians. The Indian communities were gradually being incorporated within the expanding pattern of Spanish late-colonial development. New mission villages, and the establishment of cattle ranches (hatos) was the beginning of a process that was not to come to fruition until the twentieth century.⁵⁹

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CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

The human and physical characteristics encountered by the Europeans in Antioquia and Cumaná were of fundamental significance in explaining the activities of the conquering culture. More than the general activities, however, these contextual factors accounted for the pace, the direction and the pattern of processual change. Of course it is necessary to add immediately that the process was one of response--the newcomers arrived with a set of objectives and perspectives, economic, social, political, moral--their whole cultural baggage; even if some were set aside upon arrival, or modified, even radically altered, they came as distinctive Iberians. Thus any mode of explanation has to take into account the multitude of dualities involved in conquest and colonization: the conquerors and the conquered; the dominant and the subservient; the masters and the slaves; the blanco and indio (more than a racial differentiation); the gente decente and the pueblo llano--the list is long and our understanding of the differences and their significance is still grossly uninformed.

The attraction of gold was the primary factor in determining the rapid, and at times desperate spread of settlement

in Antioquia during the two centuries from contact. The lure of sudden riches, and the evidence obtained from the tombs of the indigenous cultures combined to hasten the excavation of the precious metal. Antioquia prospered, one might say, in the shadow of the "Castillo de Oro" of Buriticá, a relationship similar in style if not substance to that of Cerro Potosí in upper Peru. As in Peru, the consequences of the Spanish exploitation of the mineral resources of Antioquia were manifold. For the Indians, native to the region and beyond, it meant catastrophic cultural upheavals--a new language, new customs and codes of behavior (many of which demanded a rejection of their long-held beliefs), new authority relationships, new settlements, and most important new work. Whereas before the Europeans' arrival gold had only been mined in small amounts for special ritual objects (the accumulation of which clearly misled the Spanish) now its extraction was the first order of every day. But gold fever was not the only malaise to strike the hill slope village settlements of the Indians; with the introduced plants, animals and men came microbes and viruses which found equally advantageous ecological niches in the New World. The virulence of the epidemic diseases--smallpox, diphtheria, typhoid--was noted in some way in almost every official report sent back to Spain, be they the perceptive eyewitness descriptions of mendicant friars, the lists of tribute payment, or the gold production figures. The Indian

communities were literally decimated by disease. Where the sudden epidemic did not have great effect the harshness of work conditions, the daily struggle to find sufficient food and the onerous obligations to the new masters took its slow toll. Families were broken up by the forced removal of able-bodied males, and in their urge to "civilize" the colonialists decided to concentrate the population in new villages, thereby enhancing the possibility of contagion.

Whereas in the hills the mining camps (ranchos, rancherías) were the units of settlement in the valleys, and too often on poor soils to be entirely accidental, reserved land was set apart for the beleaguered Indians. The resguardo epitomized a colonial solution to an Indian problem: they had literally been put in their place. Such jurisdictional precision was fundamental to the colonial style, be it related to the inter-city rivalries over resources (or even legal status), or, as it was in this case, to the problem of controlling the encroachment of free Spaniards in the attempt to wrest all the good land from the Indians. If at first the Indians died the remainder of their group could not be permitted to thwart the agricultural hopes of the new settlers.

The switch from mineral resource development to agricultural is one of the most interesting characteristics of the Antioquia story. If one examines the demographic indicator (Figure 26) one can readily appreciate the century or so of economic readjustment that was brought about by the

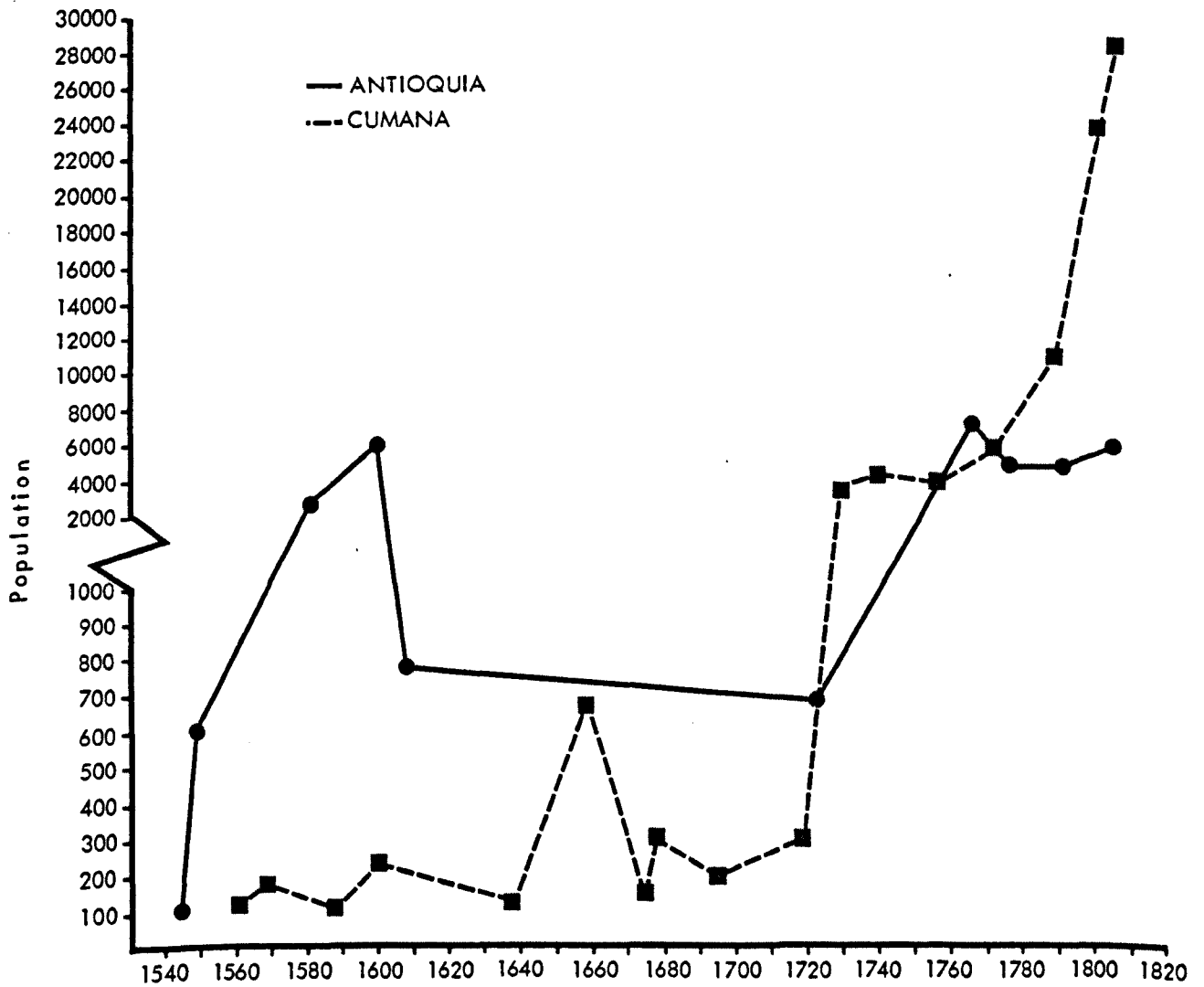


Figure 26. Population growth, Antioquia and Cumaná, 1540-1820

crisis in gold mining at the end of the sixteenth century and the more diversified economic growth after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In part, of course, the population graph reflects the simple pattern of one city's growth (admittedly the provincial capital) amidst a complexity of much intra- and inter-regional change. Here it has not been possible to monitor such a pattern, since time and the condition of the sources made it impractical. Such interpretations as are here offered, it must be stressed, remain tentative.

A very similar sequence of events occurred in eastern Venezuela, in the area which fell under the control of the residents of Santa Inés de Cumaná. Here gold was replaced by the rich pearl resources of the shallow Caribbean seabed. And instead of relatively easily subjugated Indians there were the fierce Caribs to be faced, which necessitated more than two centuries of missionary activity before they could be finally controlled. The coastal situation created jurisdictional problems between the earlier off-shore pearling islands of Cubagua, Margarita and the foothold on Tierra Firme, Cumaná. Another problem, which soon arose, was the continual harassment of the Spanish settlements by enemies of the empire--English and Dutch especially. So great was their effect that by the late seventeenth century smuggling and illicit commerce was so prevalent that little value can be

placed upon the official trade statistics. Cumaná Province was one of the commercial leakage points in the imperial system, where goods moved in and out and illegal activities became virtually a way of life. And one can hardly blame the Spanish settlers, faced as they were with hardship, especially when the all-too-frequent decline in Indian pearl divers meant their expensive substitution by imported negro slaves. Furthermore the restrictive and monopolistic imperial structure was perhaps well-suited to a situation as in Mexico, or coastal Peru, or even Caracas, but in a marginal region such as Cumaná all the difficulties had to be suffered, and few of the benefits were to be enjoyed.

Slowly but surely Cumaná grew in size, in economic structure, and political status (Figure 26). By the end of the eighteenth century its position as a developing regional colonial capital placed it well ahead of Antioquia. The long-term benefits of a rich agricultural resource base gave Cumaná an advantage that Antioquia did not enjoy until the late nineteenth century when another, more subtle commercial and imperial colonialism began to spread.

In summary this study has perhaps demonstrated, by means of two examples, that the patterns of economic, social, and political development in colonial Hispanic America were exceedingly complex. What benefitted one city and region harmed another; what was possible in one area was not in another; what was encountered was often different. When

more is known of the different Spaniards who constituted that group commonly and crudely termed "Spanish" it will be possible to further understand the subtleties of the colonial enterprise, and to more effectively assess the role in that enterprise of the city which so quickly in the New World became the symbol of the Old.

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

<u>Almojarifazgo</u>	A duty charged on imports and exports. In the slave trade this was 7.5% of each slave sold until 1566; after that it was raised to 10%.
<u>Almud</u> (de tierra)	An areal measure where half a <u>fanega</u> of cereal could be sown.
<u>Almud</u>	A twelfth of a <u>fanega</u> , or 4.6 milliliters.
<u>Arriero</u>	A person in charge of a pack train of animals.
<u>Arroba</u>	A weight measure of 25 pounds.
<u>Cabildo</u>	Town Council. Members normally appointed by Governor.
<u>Cédula</u>	A royal decree promulgated by the King in Council.
<u>Chasque</u> (or chasqui)	Originally referred to an Indian runner, later to mail delivery in general.
<u>Chusque</u>	Species of Colombian grass about the same size as bamboo.
<u>Consulado</u>	A guild of merchants trading between Spain and the Indies.
<u>Ducado</u>	A ducat, the equivalent of 10 <u>pesos de de oro</u> .
<u>Encomienda</u>	An allotment of Indians and their tribute payments to an individual. It did not extend ownership of land to the caretaker of the Indians, the <u>encomendero</u> .
<u>Fanega</u>	Grain measure of about 1.5 bushels; a <u>fanega de cacao</u> was 116 pounds weight.

<u>Hato</u>	Venezuelanism for cattle farm.
<u>Jornada</u>	Either the distance travelled in a day or the work completed in a day.
<u>Legua</u>	In northern South America usually represented about five kilometers.
<u>Ley</u>	The quantity of pure gold content in a bar, similar to a carat measure, and fixed by law, hence the name.
<u>Mochilero</u>	A traveller on foot, normally carrying provisions.
<u>Oidor</u>	An official inspector of the Audiencia court.
<u>Palenque</u>	A place of refuge or hidden settlement of runaway <u>negros</u> .
<u>Peso</u>	Coin of colonial period, containing 100 <u>centimos</u> .
<u>Quintal</u>	One hundred-weight; it may have varied from province to province throughout Spanish America.
<u>Rescate</u>	The exchange or bartering of merchandise for gold in New Granada.
<u>Tomín</u>	Sometimes a synonym for a <u>real</u> , otherwise worth 30 <u>centimos</u> of a <u>peso</u> .
<u>Traza</u>	The cartographic representation of the layout of colonial cities, usually marking the ownership of urban lots.
<u>Trocha</u>	A narrow pathway or trail.
<u>Vecino</u>	A resident of an urban settlement, usually the male head of a household.

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